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24 MARCH 1987

## Worldwide Report

## ARMS CONTROL

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WORLDWIDE REPORT  
ARMS CONTROL

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## SDI AND SPACE ARMS

### USSR: RESPONSE TO REAGAN 'BROAD INTERPRETATION' OF ABM TREATY

#### Weinberger Requests Additional Funding

LD181815 Moscow TASS in English 1647 GMT 18 Feb 87

[Text] Washington February 18 TASS -- The Pentagon is requesting Congress to allocate almost 2,800 million dollars additionally to it in the 1987 fiscal year. Five hundred million dollars out of the sum will be used to speed up work under the 'Star Wars' programme.

Speaking in the Senate Committee on the Armed Services on Tuesday U.S. Secretary of Defence Caspar Weinberger stated that the additional 500 million dollars for the needs of strategic defence would enable the United States to make headway in the field of developing heavy delivery vehicles.

He insisted on the so-called broad interpretation of the 1972 Soviet-U.S. ABM Treaty, the interpretation which would allow the development and deployment of the newest space weapon systems.

He said the United States had already virtually decided on moving on such an interpretation of the treaty.

The U.S. secretary of defence did not give a clear answer to a question asked by Senator Albert Gore (Democrat, Tennessee), why does the U.S. President think that he has a right unilaterally to change the treaty which was already ratified by the Senate on the basis of "narrow interpretation".

#### SALT Envoy Comments

PM201751 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Feb 87 First Edition p 4

["Competent Opinion" by Ambassador V.S. Semenov, counselor to the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs: "The ABM Treaty and SDI" -- first two paragraphs are PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] Speaking recently on the NBC-TV program "Meet the Press," former U.S. Secretary of State H. Kissinger declared that "if the [ABM] Treaty were read literally, then [its] broad interpretation would probably be correct."

We asked Ambassador V.S. Semenov, counselor to the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs and leader of the USSR delegation at talks with the U.S. delegation on limiting strategic arms (1969-1978) to comment on this statement. His reply follows.

As a result of protracted and complex talks the sides elaborated a common understanding on questions of the limitation of ABM systems, which is clearly enshrined in the provisions of the ABM Treaty signed in Moscow 26 May 1972.

Thus, the sides reached the common conclusion that development of an extensive ABM system would lead to an unrestricted buildup of strategic offensive weapons and the means to counter ABM systems while, by contrast, mutual restraint in the sphere of ABM systems would offer an opportunity to begin limiting and reducing nuclear weapons.

Let me recall the basic limitations under the ABM Treaty. Under Article I, the USSR and the United States undertook without any time limit the obligation to limit ABM systems, not to deploy ABM systems on the territory of their countries, and not to provide [sozdavat] a base for such a defense. Article V bans the development [sozdaniye], testing, or deployment of ABM systems of components which are sea-based, air-based, space-based, or mobile land-based. Article III of the treaty, as explained by the 1974 protocol to the treaty, limits the deployment of permitted ABM systems to only one area in each country with the boundaries of this area limited to a radius of not more than 150 km, and sets the maximum number of ABM launchers (100), ABM interceptors themselves (100), and ABM radar stations.

By way of justification for the "Star Wars" program (SDI), the adversaries of the ABM Treaty are trying to make use of Agreed Statement "D," which speaks of the procedure for limiting future ABM systems and their components based on different principles of physics. But they deliberately ignore the initial part of the statement, which speaks of the purpose of "ensuring fulfillment of the obligation not to deploy ABM systems and their components except as provided in Article III of the Treaty."

It is clear from the context of Agreed Statement "D" and all the treaty's provisions that the sides desired to step up obligations under the treaty and to impose a strict framework on the development of ABM means in the future beyond [v privyazke k] the single ABM deployment area permitted by the treaty and protocol of 1974 and stationary ground-based systems. As for space-based or any other systems, they are clearly banned by the treaty.

It is clear from this that H. Kissinger's statements about the possibility of some "broad" interpretation of the treaty are untenable. Attempts of this kind imply the destruction of the ABM Treaty to defend the SDI program.

In advancing a package of proposals in Reykjavik for the phased elimination of nuclear weapons, the Soviet Union proposed that the ABM Treaty be strengthened by the sides adopting a commitment on not taking advantage of the right to break out of the treaty for a period of 10 years given unswerving implementation of all its provisions. It is hoped that the voice of reason will prevail in the United States. This would provide an opportunity to finally open the gates to a nuclear-free world in the interests of all the peoples.

Rejects 'Essence of Treaty'

LD231728 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1409 GMT 23 Feb 87

["The Latest Step of Opponents of the ABM Treaty" -- TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 23 Feb (TASS) -- Vladimir Chernyshev, TASS observer, writes:

As THE NEW YORK TIMES has reported, President R. Reagan has signed a special directive in the field of national security which is to form the basis for the administration's adopting the so-called "broad interpretation" of the ABM Treaty. Thus, official Washington is striving unilaterally to "rewrite" this very important treaty which is of fundamental importance in preventing the arms race. After all, the political and philosophical importance of the ABM Treaty lies in the fact that it guarantees stability through the absence of antimissile defense and thereby ends the age-old competition between "shield" and "sword", which is especially dangerous in the nuclear and space age.

Rejecting the very essence of the treaty, which has been observed for 15 years by several U.S. Administrations, the present U.S. leadership is attempting to replace it with some other kind of treaty which would not prohibit the development [sozdaniye] of large-scale ABM systems, but which would "regulate the order" of their development [sozdaniye]. This in fact means scrapping the ABM Treaty. The "Star Wars" strategists are pursuing the goal of freeing themselves of the fetters restricting them from complete freedom to rearm. It is precisely with this aim that they seek to make the ABM Treaty a "dead letter", with the aid of a "new reading".

Throughout the world treaties are conceived as serious obligations. In 1972 the U.S. Senate approved the ABM Treaty by 88 votes to 2, but now the White House intends to tell the world: "Its conditions have become inconvenient for us. That is why after additional thought we have decided that they are meaningless." Prominent U.S. politicians, public figures, and experts in the field of disarmament have called this "broad interpretation" "blatant cheating", "an absurdity", "a conscious distortion", "a crude perversion", and "an irresponsible step". However, all this does not bother the White House, which suffers from a fanatical, pathological devotion to the "star wars" program, strives to shape everything to its egotistical aspirations, and no matter what guarantees the interests of the U.S. military-industrial complex.

The administration's new step clearly reveals its "hostile reflex" with regard to arms control. The aforementioned directive of the U.S. delegation in Geneva contains the instruction not to conduct talks or even discuss limitations on defensive systems, which would be more rigorous than the new interpretation of the treaty. As J. Schlesinger, former U.S. secretary of defense, stated in an interview for the ABC television network, these instructions practically preclude the possibility of achieving a major agreement on arms control. I would say that in such a case all opportunities for any kind of reduction and limitation of nuclear forces are eliminated. With the destruction of the ABM Treaty the nuclear missile race will acquire new dimensions and an arms race in space will be added.

There is yet another consideration. K. Adelman, director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, made the following remark: Talks on limiting nuclear weapons are merely a stunt which we must resort to in order to reassure the U.S. public and the European allies. Evidently, the present administration has been guided by just such an approach up until now. As for the Western allies, official Washington is clearly not

taking too much trouble to reassure them, or to put it more plainly, could not care less about their concerns. How else can one explain the fact that U.S. Government emissaries P. Nitze and E. Rowny have been sent off on trips to Europe and the Pacific Basin with the task of completing consultations with the allies over "broad interpretation" by as early as 2 March? The time allocated to them is only just enough to present the allies with a fait accompli.

It is finally time for Washington to realize that the harsh realities of our time demand not the shattering of the international treaty-legal regime, not the knocking-out of key links from it, but its strengthening and the raising of its level.

'Outbreak of Alarm'

LD241507 Moscow World Service in English 1410 GMT 24 Feb 87

[Yuriy Solton commentary]

[Text] The United States has temporarily suspended its talks with the Soviet Union in Geneva over space arms. More from our observer Yuriy Solton.

The American delegation, it is said, needs time for consultations with the U.S. allies over what is termed as a broader interpretation of the ABM Treaty signed between the Soviet Union and the United States 15 years ago. The treaty obliges the cosignatories not to build an antimissile defense system on the entire territory of the country but to limit it only to a territory with a radius of up to 150 km where no more than 100 antiballistic missiles can be deployed. Another major commitment under the treaty is not to develop tests or deploy ABM systems or sea, air, space, or mobile land-based ABM elements. It's these cornerstones of the treaty that the United States seeks to destroy on the pretext of the need to give the treaty a broader interpretation. It will thus remove obstacles standing in the way of the realization of the Strategic Defense Initiative, known as the Star Wars plan and bound to pave the way for pushing weapons into space.

These plans have caused such an outbreak of alarm and protest in the United States proper and among American allies that President Reagan has ordered to hold necessary consultations with the Congress and the Western allies. One may get the impression that Washington has decided to analyze objectively various opinions. Facts, however, indicate different intentions. The attempt to find out what the public think of the issue is just a decoy, and the reality is the continuation of the work dealing with the development of strike space weapons and the policy aimed at breaking down the ABM Treaty.

It's no accident that the Pentagon has been instructed to draw up a schedule of tests for the Star Wars program. The agreement has already been reached in principle at the White House on speeding up the deployment in space of the first stage of the antiballistic defense system. The former American defense secretary, Schlesinger, has rightfully stated that actions by the administration actually block the opportunity for reaching any major agreement in the field of disarmament in Geneva. One can add to this that with the breakdown of the ABM Treaty the nuclear arms race is bound to acquire new dimensions. An arms race in space will be added to it which will enhance considerably the danger of an accidental outbreak of world war.

'Break' in Mechanism

LD241916 Moscow TASS in English 1855 GMT 24 Feb 87

[Text] Washington February 24 TASS -- On an instruction from the master of the White House top-ranking emissaries of the U.S. Administration set out on a tour of West European and Asian countries. The purpose of the tour is to clarify the so-called broad view of the timeless Soviet-U.S. Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty (ABM) adopted by Washington.

In concluding the treaty in 1972, which took several years to prepare, the sides agreed not to develop and not to deploy anti-missile systems in their territories, with the exception of the regions strictly provided for by the treaty. Initially, two such areas were identified in each country and in 1974 the Soviet Union and the United States signed a protocol to the ABM Treaty in Moscow, under which each of the sides will have only one area, instead of two, for the deployment of ABM systems.

Not daring to jettison this document, the administration moved to a "broad interpretation" of the ABM Treaty which would give it leeway to realize the "Star Wars" programme and loft weapons into space.

Simultaneously, the President gave an instruction to the Pentagon to make a detailed list of experiments under the ABM programme, which he could bring to fit with a broader view of the ABM Treaty. The Pentagon has failed to make these lists for the present but the magazine "U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT" writes that there exist proposals for deploying tens of thousands of interceptor missiles on some two thousand combat stations placed in orbits.

Tests of such interceptor rockets, let alone their deployment in space, are a violation of the ABM Treaty even in its broad interpretation adopted by the Reagan administration, the magazine writes.

The unilateral revision by the White House of the afore-mentioned treaty constitutes an actual break of the entire treaty mechanism which is the effective means of containing the race in strategic nuclear armaments.

Reagan To Decide by Summer

LD260019 Moscow World Service in English 1500 GMT 25 Feb 87

[Text] The Reagan administration can make a decision on a broad interpretation of the Antiballistic Missile Treaty at the end of spring or the beginning of summer this year. This has been disclosed to newsmen by the chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, Sam Nunn, after meeting presidential advisers on arms control. The meeting was prompted by growing concern in Congress that the administration is taking steps to torpedo the ABM Treaty in order to clear the way to the deployment of attack space arms. According to the speaker of the House of Representatives, Jim Wright, this would be a serious mistake.

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CSO: 5200/1308

## SDI AND SPACE ARMS

### SOVIET ENVOYS VIEW U.S. ABM TREATY STAND

Geneva UN Mission Chief

LD241825 Moscow TASS in English 2123 GMT 24 Feb 87

[Text] Geneva February 24 TASS -- The Soviet Union proceeds from the premise that preserving the ABM Treaty is a matter of universal security, Yevgeniy Makeyev, permanent representative of the USSR to the U.N. Mission and other international organisations in Geneva, told a news conference here today.

In this connection, he referred to Mikhail Gorbachev's speech at the international forum in Moscow, who said that the Soviet leadership was ready to play a vanguard role in mankind's struggle to break the nuclear guillotine and build a nuclear-free and non-violent world.

Aleksey Obukhov, deputy head of the USSR delegation at the Soviet-U.S. negotiations on nuclear and space armaments, said that at the Reykjavik meeting the Soviet Union proposed pledging that the tests of all space elements of an anti-ballistic missile system in space be banned for a ten-year period during which neither side will withdraw from the ABM Treaty and the work in the field of a space-based anti-ballistic missile system be limited to laboratories.

But the United States is moving towards subverting the treaty, towards demolishing the regime of strict constraints imposed on anti-missile defence. To justify these actions, Washington came up with the thesis of a broader view of the treaty.

So, following its move to abandon adherence by the SALT-1 and SALT-2 treaties, Washington took in its sights the ABM Treaty with an eye to finalizing the dismantling of the foundation of the strategic arms limitation process and making the SDI programme irreversible, as well as tying the hands of future U.S. administrations.

This line of Washington simultaneously blocks a solution to the issue of drastic reductions in nuclear armaments.

Yuriy Nazarkin, head of the USSR delegation at the conference on disarmament, stressed that the problem of preventing the arms race in space concerned all states since near-earth space covered not only the territories of the USSR and the United States.

To take part in its solution is a lawful right and sacred responsibility of all states. He expressed the conviction that the Geneva conference on disarmament had a good potential for a businesslike and purposeful discussion of this problem.

Obukhov Warns U.S. On SDI

AU241646 Paris AFP in English 1632 GMT 24 Feb 87

[Yvan Chemla report]

[Text] Geneva, Feb 24 (AFP) -- The Soviet Union accused Washington here Tuesday of trying to break the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty with its "Star Wars" program and warned that Moscow would respond "efficiently" if the United States launched an arms race in space.

Alexey Obukhov, deputy head of the Soviet delegation to the disarmament talks here, told a press conference Washington's stance "effectively blocked all solutions to the problem of reducing nuclear arms and revealed its desire to prevent the erosion of the nuclear threat."

U.S. efforts to establish a "broad" interpretation of the 1972 ABM Treaty to speed up tests in space of the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) were unacceptable, he said.

He said Washington was trying to justify by "invented legal arguments" a deployment of the space-based missile system that would give it "an irreversible character and tie the hands of the next U.S. Administration."

Mr. Obukhov warned that an arms accord would be impossible in the event of an arms race in space and affirmed that the Soviet Union would not let the United States gain military superiority by such a tactic.

He said the narrow Soviet interpretation of the ABM Treaty was the "correct" one. He recalled Moscow's proposals in Reykjavik that the two parties keep to the treaty for 10 years, with SDI research confined to the laboratory.

Mr. Obukhov reiterated Moscow's all-encompassing approach to the arms problem, linking the four areas of space, strategic weapons, medium-range missiles and nuclear tests.

"If these four areas are not considered simultaneously, there will be cause for suspicion, instability and imbalance. They have to be discussed in parallel," said Mr. Obukhov.

The American negotiators have criticized the Soviet approach for making any agreement on arms a "hostage" to the Star Wars issue.

Mr. Obukhov was flanked at the press conference by the Soviet ambassador to the United Nations, Yevgeniy Makeyev, and disarmament conference representative Yuriy Nazarkin.

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CSO: 5200/1308

## SDI AND SPACE ARMS

### SOVIET PAPERS ON U.S. POSITION ON ABM INTERPRETATION

#### U.S. Ditching Agreed Interpretation

PM161323 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Feb 87 First Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Gan report: "The United States: Before the Delta Test"]

[Text] Virtually no doubt now remains that the Reagan administration has decided to unilaterally repudiate the interpretation of the ABM Treaty agreed with the USSR and regarded as the only valid one since the treaty's conclusion 15 years ago. In an interview on ABC TV, Defense Secretary Weinberger announced that the United States will switch to a "broader interpretation of the treaty in a few months" when the Pentagon begins the Delta missile test program.

"We believe that we can accomplish everything apart from the actual deployment (of systems within the framework of the 'strategic defense initiative'--V.G.)" he stated. According to ABC the Defense Department tested the Delta missile last year. At that time, however, the missiles were "programmed as satellites to avoid breaching the treaty provisions banning the testing of space-based ABM systems." During the next round of tests in a few months' time, as Weinberger has indicated, a "broader interpretation of the ABM Treaty" will be necessary since the Pentagon intends to test out new technology for SDI.

Commenting on the remarks by the Pentagon chief and other high-ranking U.S. representatives, the television company stated that Washington "is fully resolved to take the country beyond the framework of the treaty limiting ABM systems." This means that the opponents of all arms control, who have gained the upper hand in the administration, are now prepared to strike the decisive blow against the whole structure of accords in this sphere.

#### Position Alarming Public Figures

PM161727 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Feb 87 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Dangerous Consequences"]

[Text] Washington, 14 February--Confirming yet again his intention to derail the Soviet-U.S. ABM Treaty, President Reagan has instructed the Pentagon to

prepare a specific list of experiments within the framework of the "Star Wars" program. This was reported today by THE WASHINGTON POST, alluding to information received from "a high-ranking administration representative."

This instruction was issued on the basis of decisions taken last Tuesday [10 February] at President Reagan's special meeting in the White House with the leading members of his cabinet and experts on arms control problems. Judging by the press reports, the meeting took the decision to adopt the so-called "broad interpretation" of the ABM Treaty so as to eliminate all obstacles to the testing and deployment [provedeniye ispytaniy i razvertyvaniye] of components of an antimissile defense system with space-based elements.

According to THE WASHINGTON POST's information, the list is to include "a detailed description of the experiments which U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger wants to carry out on the basis of the treaty's 'broad interpretation,' and a schedule has been submitted for the holding of the tests and the evaluation of their importance." Thus, the United States has actually taken the first specific step toward the complete subversion of one of the fundamental Soviet-U.S. accords in the arms control sphere.

This course of Washington's is generating ever increasing alarm among prominent political and public figures in the United States itself. Undermining the Soviet-U.S. ABM Treaty is equivalent to undermining the entire arms control process. This was pointed out here Friday at a press conference given by prominent U.S. specialists--President of the Association of Arms Control Supporters Spurgeon Keeny, former U.S. Defense Secretary Robert McNamara, former Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency Gerard Smith, and former legal adviser to the U.S. delegation to the SALT I negotiations with the USSR John Rhinelander. G. Smith emphasized that the ABM Treaty had operated successfully for 14 years and that control of offensive arms is unattainable if an attempt is made to destroy control of defensive systems.

J. Rhinelander drew attention to the fact that the deployment of a space-based ABM system is directly prohibited by the treaty. The SDI-related issue is "a strategic and political issue," R. McNamara stated. In his opinion, the "broad interpretation" of the ABM Treaty will hinder the conclusion of arms control agreements. "SDI does not guarantee stability" was how the former defense secretary summed it up. A similar opinion was voiced by S. Keeny. "It is politically inconceivable for the Russians to sit back while the United States moves forward in the creation of an ABM system," he pointed out.

#### U.S. Seeking Loophole

PM191401 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Feb 87 First Edition p 3

[Vasiliy Pustov "Observer's Notes" under the "'Star Wars'--A Threat to Mankind" rubric: "The Will Even Find Loopholes in the Bible. How the White House is Reinterpreting the ABM Treaty in Its Own Fashion"]

[Text] There is an interesting story currently doing the rounds in the United States. A certain W.C. Fields was found reading the Bible on his deathbed.

When asked what he was doing, he replied: "Looking for a loophole." The sinner was apparently trying to find something in the holy scriptures that would give him a chance, however slight, of worming his way into paradise.

What has reminded Americans of this anecdote is perhaps even more noteworthy. It is the present conduct of the U.S. Administration, which is also engaged in a search for a loophole, but in the Soviet-American ABM Treaty. It is searching for a loophole which, to cite THE WASHINGTON POST, it could slip through by means of hair-splitting and jesuitical interpretations of the Treaty in order, contrary to all the bans contained therein, to arrogate to itself the nonexistent right to carry out large-scale tests of the "Star Wars" program in space. It is reported in this context that President Reagan has already given instructions to the Defense Department to draw up a detailed list of SDI program experiments which could be carried out in conformity with the so-called "broad interpretation" of the ABM Treaty. It is thought that these will include numerous nuclear tests.

What is at issue is the extension of the arms race to outer space, which is one of the most dangerous components of the doctrine of so-called "nuclear deterrence." "Deterrence" which, as M.S. Gorbachev stressed in his speech at his meeting with participants in the international forum "For a Nuclear-Free World and Mankind's Survival," amounts essentially to a policy of threats.

Threats have always been a traditional part of American imperialism. Back at the beginning of our century President Theodore Roosevelt urged that they be backed up with a "big stick," which was the name given to the expansionist policy which resulted in the occupation of Cuba and the seizure of the Panama Canal Zone and other territories. It was the U.S. Navy which most often wielded the stick against other countries and peoples then.

The shapers of today's policy of neoglobalism and hegemony are seeking to pose threats from everywhere, primarily from outer space, sometimes not even disguising the fact that the concept of "deterrence" is no more than a verbal ploy. Pentagon chief Weinberger, for example, has talked about the "paradox of deterrence" with unconcealed sarcasm, equating it with the "paradox of arms reduction" and even the "paradox of maintaining peace." "The peacemaker," he said in a burst of militarist frankness, "must be ready to use force and to use it successfully."

Weinberger is not alone in this respect. Other U.S. leaders have also made and continue to make frenzied appeals for a "crusade" to be launched against socialism, for "our might to be used," and for talks to be conducted with the Russians solely from a "position of strength." The same U.S. Administration representatives are conducting talks with Soviet representatives on nuclear and space armaments in Geneva while lamenting outside Geneva that the USSR has existed "longer than many people expected." Who these "many people" are is well known--the interventionists, including Americans, who invaded the young Soviet republic, the Hitlerite aggressors who committed crimes on Soviet soil during the Great Patriotic War, and other enemies of the Soviet Union.

These threats as a policy device are not only confirmed by cynical admissions but are also reinforced by concrete actions--by accelerating military

preparations, particularly in the space and strategic arms sphere. There is much ballyhoo now inside and outside the United States about the discussion in the White House of plans to deploy the first echelon of SDI which would lead to the smashing of the unlimited-duration ABM Treaty. This is being fought for by the Pentagon chief, backed up by the President. "The same President who," THE NEW YORK TIMES writes, "has breached the treaties on a partial ban on nuclear weapons and the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons and repudiated the SALT II Treaty is now discussing whether or not to turn the Treaty on the Limitation of ABM Systems into a mere piece of paper. It seems that any limitations imposed by law or the requirements of a rational policy are powerless in the face of the President's personal predilections and his truly imperial ways."

It is reported that Secretary of State G. Shultz would like to somewhat delay the acceleration of this dangerous venture. But not at all because of its destructiveness but so as to gain time to "pressure Moscow" and persuade it to reach an agreement on U.S. terms. Even here, as we can see, what we have is ill-disguised blackmail and fruitless but nevertheless dangerous attempts to use the language of threats against the USSR. Admiral Crowe, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, seems to be showing some restraint regarding deployment of the first echelon of SDI. But only because a decision on such deployment is, in his words, premature, since the "military utility" of creating a partial SDI system has not been proven.

What precisely would this first echelon amount to? It has been described in general terms by Lieutenant General Abrahamson, SDI program director. He considers, according to NEWSWEEK, that by speeding up technologies of the "immediate future," it might be possible by around 1994 to deploy ground-based and space-based missiles capable of shooting down enemy missiles and warheads at the stage when they reenter the atmosphere.

While trying to threaten others, influential circles in Washington are also feeling--and do not even hide it--fear themselves. Fear of a quite different nature--fear not of the threat of a nuclear apocalypse but of the possibility of a nuclear-free world, the prospect of which shone briefly at Reykjavik. Both the creators and heralds of the "position-of-strength" policy have taken up arms against this prospect, this prospect which accords with mankind's aspirations. Former presidential aide Kissinger writes with undisguised dissatisfaction of the "chaos caused in Reykjavik by Reagan" and warns against the "Reykjavik revolution" as undermining American-NATO strategy.

Space is only one area, albeit perhaps the most dangerous one, of the present U.S. Administration's frontal assault on the process, created over the years, of curbing the arms race. The ensuing risk of nuclear catastrophe is so obvious that it has caused grave fears and protests on the part of even those West European leaders who have, on the whole, usually supported the senior, transatlantic partner's militarist acts.

Fields is not the only devotee of the Bible looking for loopholes in it. The White House incumbent himself, who poses as a righteous person, quite frequently backs up his homilies about America's almost divine mission and its dominant place in the world with references, albeit not always felicitous

ones, to the Bible. And this too is bound to cause alarm, since it is fraught with dangerous consequences for the world. In the book published quite recently called "Reagan, God and the Bomb," its author, Professor (F. Knelman) of Montreal University, stresses that "The activity of the (U.S.) Administration, which has 20th-century and even 21st-century weapons of destruction at its disposal, is being guided by people who think in 19th-century terms... Both the hidden and open parts of its secret strategy have been formulated in such a way as either to circumvent existing treaties or to deliberately breach them."

That statement says it all. U.S. policy, hypocritically portrayed as "deterrence," far from reducing the possibility of military conflicts, actually increases the possibility of such conflicts, which, in our nuclear age, pose a threat to the very existence of the human species. It is essential that everybody wage the most resolute struggle against this.

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CSO: 5200/1335

## SDI AND SPACE ARMS

### SOVIET COLONEL STRESSES LINK BETWEEN SDI, OFFENSIVE ARMS

LD142249 Moscow International Service in Czech 1800 GMT 13 Feb 87

[Text] Leading circles in the U.S. and certain other NATO countries are insistently spreading the idea that there is no connection between nuclear arms reduction and SDI -- in other words, the Star Wars program -- and that, therefore, the problem of reducing the nuclear confrontation must be tackled as a separate issue. We asked Colonel Vladimir Chernyshev, a TASS military observer; to comment on these ideas. What is his view? He stated:

In my view, such statements are intentionally made for the benefit of people who are unfamiliar with military strategic issues. For example, it is said that the space-based ABM system is purely defensive, designed solely to destroy enemy nuclear missiles. This is a willful lie, however, because there are close interconnections between strategic offensive and defensive weapons. Indeed, the development of even a solely defensive system cannot be seen by the other side as anything but an attempt to both achieve decisive military superiority and to gain the ability to carry out an unpunished first strike, avoiding retaliating by hiding behind a space shield.

One of the Star Wars program's directors, Gardner, explained at a closed conference in Washington that implementing SDI would sharply alter the nuclear balance in favor of the United States. Possession of the ABM system, he stated, would even enable the United States to retain the upper hand in strategic nuclear weapons after a bilateral nuclear exchange. Even advocates of Star Wars realize, however, that it is impossible to create a 100 percent reliable defensive system: Thus, to increase the effectiveness of the ABM system, Star Wars advocates have an interest in reducing the nuclear potential of what they call their potential adversary.

Paul Warnke, former head of the U.S. delegation to the disarmament talks, recently made the following statement: If Soviet nuclear capabilities were reduced, SDI would become more valuable to the United States by providing a nuclear advantage that could be used to blackmail the Soviet Union. There is an important conclusion to be drawn from this: In circumstances in which there is a threat of SDI being developed, it would hardly be possible to imagine any kind of cut or limitation in offensive strategic weapons, because agreeing to such a thing would mean enhancing the effectiveness of a nuclear first-strike capability carried out by means of the antimissile shield -- in other words, actively helping someone who has decided to outflank you by using space weapons. Radical cuts in strategic weapons under the conditions of space militarization can disproportionately enhance the threat posed by SDI, because systems developed under this program will then have to contend with a much smaller number of missiles, delivery vehicles, and warheads that is currently the case. In such

conditions, SDI, as I see it, fits in particularly well with the concept of a nuclear first strike.

Let us examine another argument of SDI advocates: Let both sides deploy their ABM systems; then the emphasis on nuclear weapons can be reduced at the expense of defensive systems. Is this correct? Such an interpretation, in my opinion, is totally unrealistic, because each side will then question whose ABM system is more effective or more impenetrable? Could not one side take advantage of the fact that it has a more effective defense to carry out a nuclear first strike? The consequence of this is uncertainty, instability, the unpredictable development of events, and the impossibility of secure strategic planning.

Under such conditions, nuclear war could be the consequence not only of a deliberate decision, but also of attempts at blackmail or of an incorrect evaluation by one side of the plans or actions of the other side. The situation would become even more unpredictable since as both sides would strive both to improve their ABM systems and to develop means of defeating them; this, incidentally, is currently underway at full speed in the United States. This means that reducing offensive nuclear weapons under this option, without a ban on the militarization of space, would in effect be helping the other side to enhance the effectiveness of its sword and shield system.

Finally, let us examine yet another option advocated by Washington. Let us suppose that both sides have space-based ABM systems and that nuclear weapons have been completely destroyed. Would strategic stability be enhanced in this case? Would the threat of war diminish? I firmly believe not, because SDI -- meaning a program for developing offensive space weapons -- is inherently an offensive system. These space weapons, which have an effective range of some 4,000-5,000 kilometers, can destroy targets in space, on earth, and at sea almost instantaneously. SDI could become one of the most lethal offensive weapons systems ever devised by mankind. Even if the currently existing nuclear weapons were totally eliminated, SDI would itself become a cause of strategic instability and mutual distrust. The anxiety of not allowing oneself to be outflanked would give rise to an unbridled arms race in space. Instead of nuclear weapons, ever more horrendous weapons of destruction would be developed.

In light of everything that has been stated; there can only be one conclusion, the U.S. SDI, or Star Wars program, is an obstacle to reducing and limiting nuclear weapons; it leads to even greater instability of the military strategic situation, and to increasing the threat of war. As yet there have been no weapons in space, but if weapons are indeed placed there, it will be extremely difficult to get them removed, and there is absolutely no reason to expect the development of offensive space weapons to lead to the disappearance of nuclear weapons on earth.

There is, however, another path, a more reliable and safer path, one which, above all, leads directly to a goal: the path of reducing and subsequently eliminating existing missiles, all nuclear weapons, and other mass-destruction weapons. The Soviet Union proposed 1 year ago that this should be accomplished by the end of this century, but this plan can only be effected if the door to all weapons in space remains tightly shut.

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## SDI AND SPACE ARMS

USSR: APN MILITARY BULLETIN ON 'NUCLEAR SLANT' OF SDI

Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 6, 15-22 Feb 87 p 5

[Article: "Where Does SDI Originate?" originally published in MILITARY BULLETIN No 2, 1987, by Novosti Press Agency]

[Text]

PRESIDENT REAGAN once said that if the US decided in favour of SDI deployment, it might no longer have to negotiate with the Soviet Union. Speaking at the American space research foundation recently, the US Secretary of Defence recounted SDI successes that allegedly surpassed the expectations of the most optimistic scientists and engineers. He also announced the possible deployment of phase one of a strategic defence with space-based components. It appears that by rushing the phased deployment of SDI Weinberger wants to make this process irreversible, and to ensure that Congress and future administrations continue with SDI.

Let us look at one aspect of phase one deployment, namely the priority systems designed to disable ICBMs immediately after launch. These are directed-energy weapons (DEWs), on which the US has intensively been working for the past five years. They are being developed under the nuclear part of the SDI programme at research laboratories of the US Department of Energy. In the past two to three years funding for DEW research has doubled. But then, it could not be otherwise, for it was the testing of a nuclear-pumped X-ray laser that prompted Reagan to unveil SDI in March 1983 in the first place. Further proof of the SDI nuclear slant is the continued nuclear testing in Nevada.

American specialists believe that the most promising and better developed version of DEWs now is the nuclear-pumped X-ray laser, on which scientists at the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory are working.

As to a concept of their deployment, from time to time the Pentagon provides information about the deployment in the early '90s of orbiting battle stations (in January this year

reports spoke of 250 such stations), but is increasingly reticent over this issue. Perhaps the detailed explanation of possible Soviet measures in response to SDI have been the main restraining factor. Besides, massive funding for SDI still causes serious concern. The US also has to consider the inevitable and negative international reaction to deployment of nuclear weapons in space, which contradicts the 1967 treaty on peaceful uses of space.

American specialists say that the emphasis now is on the ground mode of basing DEWs. The concept of using nuclear-pumped X-ray lasers in the first layer of a missile defence contemplates their deployment on land, at sea and underwater. The use of submarines is still in doubt in view of some obstacles. One is the impossibility of timely transmission of all the information necessary for launching missiles and moving X-ray lasers to the designated area. The cost is another obstacle. Several dozen nuclear-powered submarines would be needed, each costing at least 1.5 billion dollars.

Most SDI developers favour deployment of ABM rockets with X-ray lasers on the Earth. The snag here is that the acceleration phase in the case of existing ICBMs is no more than three minutes, something which drastically reduces the time allowed for putting ABM rockets into space and for activating DEWs. Further, DEWs have a limited range – under 2,000-3,000 km in US estimates. So, deployment of anti-rockets with DEWs on US territory is impossible because the distance between the launching sites of rockets with DEWs and ICBM silos, say, in the USSR or China, is far greater. Therefore, the anti-missiles would have to be deployed much closer: those trained on the USSR along its perimeter, those trained on China somewhere in Japan or South Korea.

Now that Weinberger has ordered practical arrangements for phase one deployment to go ahead, we cannot rule out that the Americans may start looking for launching sites for anti-missiles equipped with DEWs on the territory of West Germany, South Korea or other close US partners. It is very likely that their construction will soon become as real as the planned building of a giant ship for launching anti-rockets by the British company jointly with three US firms.

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## SDI AND SPACE ARMS

### IZVESTIYA HITS GEN ABRAHAMSON PARIS SPEECH ON SDI

PM181143 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Feb 87 Morning Edition p 5

[Report by own correspondent Yu. Kovalenko: "The Pentagon Fixer"]

[Text] Paris--The United States is continuing its efforts to get France to participate in the "Star Wars" program and is trying to indoctrinate political and military figures and leaders of firms and companies to that end.

LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE reports that Lieutenant General J. Abrahamson, head of the organization to implement the so-called "strategic defense initiative," visited Paris not so long ago. In particular, he addressed the students of the Ecole Polytechnique, which trains leading cadres for French firms and the military industry. The general gave a lecture on "Star Wars," accompanied by a slide show in which he tried to demonstrate that SDI is an "instrument of peace" and that its implementation would not violate any existing international agreements. "We need your help," he told the students.

But, LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE notes, J. Abrahamson did not say a word about the fact that thousands of U.S. scientists, including Nobel prize winners, have refused to participate in SDI. Nor did he mention that in Western Europe many politicians are opposed to the "Star Wars" program and that the French Government has repeatedly stressed its negative attitude to the U.S. plans for the militarization of space.

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## SDI AND SPACE ARMS

### SOVIET TV DOCUMENTARY ON SDI REVIEWED

PM240951 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 19 Feb 87 p 3

[Semen Borzunov article under rubric "Television Premiere:" "No to 'Star Wars'"]

[Text] A new documentary entitled "'Star Wars'--The Deception and Delusion of America" (author Vadim Lobachenko, correspondent in New York for the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, director G. Vilenchik, editor O. Dobrodeyev, camerawork Ye. Sveshnikov and UN television) was shown on Central Television on 17 February.

The film begins with an account of the United Nations--that highly authoritative world organization which now incorporates 159 states. We are given a closeup of the main entrance to the UN complex, now familiar to the whole world. We not only see UN headquarters personnel, but also a great many tourists who have come here from all over the world. Together with them we admire the model of the world's first satellite, a symbol of our country's peaceful aspirations. This is a gift from the Soviet Union. Another peace symbol stands alongside--some mountain rock, sealed in glass, which was brought from the moon by U.S. astronauts.

Like a tuning fork, the shots turn television viewers' thoughts to a peaceful wavelength. They show the direction in which USSR-U.S. relations should develop and what people and governments all over the world should aspire to. These thoughts and aspirations were expressed by everyone with whom the makers of the film came into contact. This is also evidenced by the children's drawings displayed on the UN walls. And this is natural: Ordinary people dream of happiness and peace on earth.

Then we are shown a chilling drawing depicting the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima. Everything immediately grows dim and is blocked out by the ominous shadow of the all-consuming nuclear mushroom cloud.

Nuclear bombs have grown immeasurably more powerful over the past decades, thousands and thousands of missile warheads have been produced, and now gigantic platforms with mirrors to direct laser beams to their targets are being created [sozdayutsya], as well as so-called "smart shells," "beam weapons," "electromagnetic guns," and other military-technical innovations with which the Reagan administration intends to fill outer space.

Using documents and facts, the documentary's makers tell the story of how the sinister "Star Wars" program emerged deep inside the Pentagon and how, using the population's lack of information and ignorance of modern weapons, the military is extorting billions of dollars from Congress for the purpose of implementing this extensive program. U.S. television, movies, radio, newspapers, and journals are actively involved in this propaganda campaign. At the same time, the troubadours of the American military-industrial complex use the dirtiest methods to portray the USSR as an "evil empire" (as, for example, in the "Amerika" television series currently showing in the United States) and are undermining the ABM and SALT treaties, which until now have restrained the bellicose ardor of the U.S. Administration.

The television film "'Star Wars'--The Deception and Delusion of America" quotes M.S. Gorbachev's remark that in Reykjavik we were on the brink of adopting major, historic decisions, because until now--in the old ABM, SALT-I, and SALT-II treaties--it was a matter only of arms limitation whereas now it is a matter of their considerable reduction. As we have now once again seen for ourselves, because the U.S. Administration, having come to believe in its technological advantage, is trying to break through to military superiority via the SDI, it has done its best to bury these accords that were almost reached.

Reagan's position in Reykjavik has been condemned by world public opinion, including most Americans themselves. Our television correspondent's numerous conversations with various people are convincing evidence of this. Ordinary Americans are demanding that the colossal sums of money earmarked for implementing the dubious SDI program be channeled into meeting the needs of the millions of people who are starving, without work, and without a roof over their heads. This opinion was voiced not only by Americans but by everyone with whom the moviemakers met in the United Nations.

The film "'Star Wars'--The Deception and Delusion of America" impressively shows the movement by peoples of different countries, nations, and creeds against the unrestrained, lethal arms race. The more people discover about the true nature of the SDI program, the more strongly they question its peaceful aims. The peoples of the world can see--and this is convincingly shown in the documentary--that the aggressive U.S. military is not creating a "roof over the American family" but a kind of shield from behind which it is planning to deliver a first nuclear missile strike against the Soviet Union.

The television film "Star Wars" convincingly shows that even if the sinister SDI program is implemented, despite world public protest, there are no guarantees that it will be effective. Just as there are no guarantees that it is possible to ensure the perfect, faultless, malfunction-free operation of thousands of satellites, space units, and various stations with the aid of computers. These doubts have particularly intensified since the "Challenger" disaster.

Peoples and countries must do all they can to stop the militarization of space before it is too late--this is the main idea behind the television program "'Star Wars'--The Deception and Delusion of America."

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## SDI AND SPACE ARMS

### MOSCOW TV SHOWS WASHINGTON-HAMBURG TELEBRIDGE ON SDI

LD140052 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1430 GMT on 12 February broadcasts a 60-minute program introduced by S.P. Kapitsa, deputy chairman of the Committee of Soviet Scientists for Peace and Against the Nuclear Threat, in Moscow and consisting of an undated telebridge between Washington and Hamburg. The telebridge is a discussion of SDI and problems of disarmament by panelists in Washington and Hamburg; U.S. television anchorman and reporter Hodding Carter chairs two panels in Washington, the first consisting of Jaan Martenson, UN under secretary-general for disarmament problems; SDI specialist Dr Allen Mense; and former CIA director William Colby; and the second, of Kurt Gottfried, member of the Council of the Union of Concerned Scientists; Lisbeth Gronlund of Cornell University; Matthew Meselson of the Federation of American Scientists; and (Richard Scribner) of the American Federation for the Advancement of Science. FRG journalist (Gerdt Ruge) chairs two panels in Hamburg, the first consisting of Richard Garwin, U.S. physicist; Roald Sagdeyev, Soviet academician; Lord Chalfont, chairman of the British House of Lores defense committee; and Christopher Bertram, former director of the Strategic Research Institute; and the second, of Yevgeniy Velikhov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Anne Davis of Cambridge University; Peter Starlinger of Cologne University; and Joseph Rotblat, U.S. scientist.

Introducing the program, Kapitsa says: "A month after the Reykjavik meeting a congress of scientists was held in Hamburg, in the north of the FRG. It was attended by 3,500 scientists from 23 countries to discuss problems emerging from the arms race. The Hamburg meeting of scientists was very interesting. It ended with the adoption of a 10-point document reviewing all the fundamental problems of the arms race that require the expert opinion of scientists. Particular attention was paid to the need to prevent the extension of the arms race into space and to strengthen in every possible way the ABM Treaty. One of the chief subjects of the Congress was an analysis of the concepts underlying the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative, or Star Wars. That topic, which was given a very profound scientific critique, was the subject of a very interesting discussion outside the Congress which was held in the form of a television bridge between Hamburg and Washington. In that discussion, people who defend the concept of Star Wars and scientists who sharply criticize all those ideas came up against one another. Taking part in that discussion, out of the large Soviet delegation that participated in the Congress, were two leading Soviet scientists with whom you are very familiar: Academician Velikhov, chairman of the Committee of Soviet Scientists for Peace

and Against the Nuclear Threat; and Academician Sagdeyev, director of the Space Research Institute. I think this discussion is of exceptionally great general interest."

Carter in Washington introduces his first panel, and (Ruge) in Hamburg introduces hers. Before the discussion the panelists are shown U.S. video footage showing how the SDI system operates. Carter then says, "That's a simplified description of what the matter is about, and you can set the tone of our discussion by answering two questions. First, what objective is the U.S. Government pursuing by implementing SDI, and, second, when will there be a need for this system, in your opinion?" Mense replies, "Well, it seems to me that the first thing that must be done is to try to move from discussing missiles in abstract terms to determining the pressing problems that concern scientists and engineers, and from this viewpoint to determine the basic peculiarity of SDI. This is that we are trying to develop a non-nuclear antiweapons system that will make ballistic missiles as an offensive weapons lose their value. As a result, anyone who wants to attack will no longer be able to count on being able to carry out his aggressive designs with the aid of ballistic missiles. Then, if we can deprecate them to a significant degree, this can lead to a point where we will be able to reduce these weapons, not for political considerations, and not under pressure of public opinion, but simply because they are of little use."

Carter asks, "When will it be possible to get hold of the SDI system?" Mense replies, "That is a complex problem, inasmuch as it all depends which system you want to have. If the Soviet Union and the United States conclude an agreement on nuclear arms reduction to a very low level, or even to zero, then SDI will undoubtedly be a good thing. Obviously, it will not be large, it will be less complex and less costly, and precisely what for us is essential for a guarantee."

Carter says, "We have touched upon certain points which, it seems to me, should be clarified. First, you pointed out in particular the non-nuclear character of defense from a nuclear threat, but from time to time we hear that for certain components of this defense shield one form of nuclear energy or another will be needed. Is that so, or am I wrong?" Mense replies, "I would like, if I may, to say something about the context in which the use of atomic energy is considered and pursued in the American SDI program. Two main aspects are under consideration. First and foremost, in the power devices of satellites in orbit. Such power devices are already being used by the Russians in their satellites. They are not being used by us, but we are studying such technology. Then we have a program which is financed by the Energy Department. In this context, we are examining the concept of nuclear-triggered weapons, and the first reason we are engaged in this is that if the Soviet Union has already actually developed such a system, (?first and foremost with) an X-ray laser, (?if anyone else has announced this) and if it already has such a system, then the main consideration for SDI is the survival of the United States, and therefore, of course, our thinking must be altered whereby we, too, want to achieve this."

(Ruge) in Hamburg says, "I think that first we should ask Academician Sagdeyev why the Soviet Union is so against SDI and why its policy is affected by a

feeling of a threat if they already have all this in their hands, as Mr Mense has just explained. So the first question is this, what are your objections?" Sagdeyev replies, "We believe that if there is an absence of confidence on all sides, and if we prefer to build the strategy of our behavior on such a platform, utterly rejecting ordinary trust, then it seems to me that both sides should bear in mind the possibility of each possessing SDI-type systems, supplied with various means of counteraction which the scientists are proposing. Richard Garwin has been particularly active in this field. I believe that a little later on he will give us a final assessment based on a detailed analysis which should show that a new strategic model, based on a certain combination of defense and offensive forces, is extremely unstable and dangerous. For example, this side which currently possesses the better ABM or SDI system would be provoked by the situation into becoming a potential aggressor and inflicting a first strike."

(Ruge) asks, "And what about the X-ray laser which Mr Mense mentioned?" Sagdeyev replies, "I believe that Mr Mense had purely scientific articles in mind." "He must have meant theoretical computations and calculations of some kind, that this sort of trigger could cause the necessary excitation to achieve coherent laser-type radiation as a result. But such articles have nothing at all to do with any kind of weapons."

(Ruge) says, "So you are not working on this. Let me put a question to Mr Garwin: What do you think of this? Garwin replies, "Mr Mense seemed to be presenting matters as if that is what the thinking is in the United States. But the CIA director, in a letter to Congressman Markey, for example, asserts that the Soviet Union cannot have a workable X-ray laser without further nuclear tests, without, it seems to me, hundreds of nuclear tests. That is why the SDI organization is unsuccessfully seeking arguments and formulae to justify what it is doing. In essence it distorts the facts. So I think that SDI predetermines the failure of the president's attempts to defend the American people and its allies from Soviet nuclear weapons. SDI has already become an excellent weapon to destroy the treaty, and many administration members have placed a high value on it in this regard."

Carter says, "Let us pursue the first main question. Is it as clear to us as it was at the beginning of this debate that the Soviet Union is not working on an SDI program, and, second, is it worth discussing the administration's conduct with regard to the community as a whole?"

Mense says, "I believe this is worth discussing. Many aspects could be discussed, most related to a lack of a full understanding of what the purpose of the program is. Some of them are quite natural, inasmuch as a large amount of information cannot be obtained about it. As far as the Soviet Union and its programs are concerned, I think it is worth noting that the Soviet Union has the world's only operational ABM system."

Colby says, "But the Soviet Union's system is permitted under the treaty. We are both permitted to have a system of this kind. We decided not to have one because we regard it as useless, and I think this was the right decision. To say suddenly that they have somehow overtaken us while operating within the framework of the treaty is, it seems to me, nonsense, just as it is nonsense

to claim that the Soviets can create some kind of SDI within a reasonable period of time. I think that, if nothing else, this is refuted by the United State's basic superiority in the technological sphere, a superiority which the Soviets are the first to recognize."

Carter says, "Let me raise another question, given that we have touched on so many aspects and they all need to be covered. We have so far been discussing what the Soviet Union can and cannot do, what the United States can and cannot do. There is also the question of what is possible and what is problematical for Europe itself. Is there any system that would make sense? I would like to ask you, Mr (Ruge), and the European panel members: Is something like SDI possible or realizable for Europe?"

(Ruge) directs the question to Christopher Bertram, who replies, "You are asking us about something that all people dream about, but I am not totally convinced that we ought to put our trust in this. Of course there are considerations, quite legitimate considerations, as to whether Europe can in some measure defend itself against missiles. If you take into account the enormous technical problems connected with a strategic defense system, even one involving a substantially larger timeframe because of the greater distances involved, the European facilities, in the unanimous view of scientists, would prove inadequate, and the Europeans could say with relief that they do not intend to get involved. There are ways of strengthening our defense from the air, so let us not consider a European strategic defense initiative as our concern."

At this point the program cuts to on-the-street interviews with Americans on their views on SDI and the arms talks. Then Carter says, "Well, it is clear to me, that many of those whom we asked--essentially almost all of them--are on our side. So you may for your part explain the opinions of Europeans on this subject." (Ruge) calls on Lord Chalfont, who replies, "If each side has at its disposal a huge quantity of missiles and the policy of deterrence collapses--as Dr Mense of the United States has just said--the consequences would be devastating, horrifying, and unimaginable. So it seems to me it would not be a bad thing to examine, to study the idea of a non-nuclear defense strategy, and not say that this cannot be done until such time as research and experiments prove clearly that it is impossible. Then we would be able to make substantial reductions in the arsenals of existing offensive nuclear armaments of all types--ballistic missiles, long-range missiles, short- and medium-range missiles. I think we should proceed along a path of wise control over armaments."

(Ruge) then calls on Bertram, who says, "Three years after President Reagan's speech about Star Wars we are continuing to discuss matters as though it has already become a reality, or is looming on the horizon and we are on the point of acquiring it. We all know perfectly well that we can hardly count on that. It may be that it will be possible to continue research, but that is not the main issue. The main issue is the sort of dangers that lie in continuing research, what lies within the framework of the treaties which both sides have signed, and are we prepared to think about the kind of obscure goals for the sake of which we are prepared to risk limitation systems, which we could be

discussing on the spot. That is what seems to me to be the main thing, not to brood about what will happen to us in 50 years' time."

(Ruge) says, "From what you said about research work into the field of space defense, the use of non-nuclear means is being proposed. Would they not be just as destructive?" Then Sagdeyev says, "Well, first of all I would like to reply to Lord Chalfont since he has definite doubts as to whether the Russians will be able to develop countermeasures. It seems to me that a very simple conclusion follows from such a statement, and that is that it is far easier to develop countermeasures if you already possess an offensive arsenal. That is why we take such a serious attitude to concessions in interlinking defensive and offensive weapons, and we again come back to the problem with the existing ABM treaty. I think that the apparently inoffensive things which Lord Chalfont was speaking about, such as research and experiments on antimissile defense, are possible, and we would be able to reexamine it. But it would be very dangerous to overstep a certain limit in our efforts to speed up the process, pursuing a policy of deterrence, and at the same time there being no new defense concept. I am referring to the carrying out of tests, to things which are in fact prohibited by the ABM treaty which has been mentioned."

Then Carter says, "I would like to put this question to those who have no direct scientific relation to it." Sagdeyev interjects, "Yes, I was speaking about things which have been definitely prohibited by the ABM Treaty," and Carter continues, "Yes, thank you, I would like to put this question to those who have no direct scientific relation to it and pass it over not to the direct participants--the Soviet union, the United States and the European states, some of which have already become participants in SDI--but to a wider audience which comprises several billion people who have no affiliation to any of these camps. Perhaps the under secretary-general of the UN would not mind speaking on behalf of this wide auditorium?"

Martenson replies, "Recalling the fact that this is a research program I understand that you wish to outline problems and find solutions. In relation to the content of SDI, in the world community and among the majority of the 159 member-countries of the UN the opinion is prevalent that this program conceals a danger of an escalation of the arms race. I would like to recall an expression of General Bradley's that missiles give rise to antimissiles, which in turn give rise to anti-mantimissiles. That is why the United Nations organization unanimously sees this question as a problem of preventing an arms race in space. On the other hand one may note with approval that one of the goals of the Soviet-U.S. talks in Geneva is preventing an arms race in space."

Then Carter says, "I propose we go back to our discussion of the various effects of SDI on talks and discussions like the one we are having. Do you believe that such discussions have broad international repercussions in this context? To what extent can they influence people's opinions in Europe and other countries of the world?" Martenson says, "We can see how the broad public wants to find out more about the Strategic Defense Initiative. A while ago the problem of disarmament existed only for the politicians, not for the ordinary person. Politicians, specialists, and some public figures were involved with it. Now more and more knowledgeable and realistically thinking people are showing concern, and we in the United Nations are trying to present

facts and figures, not emotions, to interested public opinion--in documented publications, conferences, and so on, throughout the world, in the East, in the West, in the north and in the south, in the Soviet Union, Africa, and Europe. This is in itself an interesting phenomenon, because there is no going back from the arms race now, from its consequences, from the need for disarmament, from the link between the questions of disarmament and armament. No matter where one may be, in Tbilisi, Chicago, or Nairobi, everybody is worried primarily about one and the same thing. Naturally, politicians throughout the world, whatever the political or economic system, should not forget people's true concerns." Colby interjects, "I must say that it would be wrong to see this as the main problem of our days."

Then Carter says, "In my opinion now is the most fitting moment to touch upon the next question, the complexity of technology," while the video shows film clips of Reagan-Gorbachev talks in Geneva and Reykjavik. Carter continues, "Having exchanged the pros and cons the sides were unable to do anything more. It seems that two opinions clashed in the focus of the discussions: The proponents of SDI believed that this brought the sides to the conference table, and its opponents believed that it only made matters worse."

Mense says, "Everything depends to a considerable extent on what level of arms reduction can be agreed upon at the talks. Clearly, if the Soviet Union and the United States agreed on a zero option, against which in principle there are no objections by either Gorbachev or Reagan, then both sides, without great expense, would be able to create defensive systems which would ensure the security of each of them, and with that degree of security which each side would provide for itself, as distinct from the existing situation, independent of goodwill on the other side. Such a system would be reliable and worth spending money on. So, if anyone now should contemplate undertaking an offensive arms race--and I think one can agree here--there would be no point in it."

(Ruge) then calls for the views of Sagdeyev, who says, "Here I agree completely and utterly with Mr Mense. If offensive armaments and ballistic missiles are reduced to zero, then naturally their significance is devalued down to nothing, and then SDI will turn out to be completely unnecessary. Moreover, the elements of SDI with X-ray lasers, launched from submarines, would definitely run counter to the very spirit of strategic ballistic missile reduction, because the side which possessed these components on submarines would have to have at its disposal carrier rockets and nuclear warheads for triggering X-ray lasers ready for launching within fractions of a minute. Who could guarantee that these missiles would not be launched from submarines in a different direction in order to hit targets on earth?"

Chalfont says, "If it became possible to reduce all offensive systems to zero, in other words, if nuclear weapons were banned altogether, then the objections to SDI would acquire a quite different dimension. But I wouldn't like anyone to be left with the impression that the applause in the audience indicates a presence in Western Europe of a powerful united opinion against SDI."

Garwin says, "But listen, do you think that by creating a defense system whereby the number of Russian targets which could be hit by modern weapons

would be cut down from 6,000 to 3,000 we would be strengthening our security? For the Russians it is much cheaper to increase their forces. SDI would become a thing in itself, if one may put it like that."

Then Carter says, "Thank you, Mr Garwin. Now we must return to Washington. Our listeners are following the proceedings with lively interest. Now let us leave SDI and try to turn to more general issues which at least two of you have touched upon. How can we reach the goal which, judging by what we have heard, everyone wants to reach--to deliver the world from the threat of nuclear destruction. A sharp reduction, 50 percent reduction, full reduction, what could it be? I have heard more than once from European leaders and from the participants in these debates considerable objections as to the size of the agreed program which would force us on to the right road. What are the outlines of the program which would lead us to our goal?"

Colby says "It is a matter for the diplomats to find a solution. To collate all the Soviet proposals, and everything else, a reduction on medium-range missiles, and so on--this is very difficult. People are now saying that the president should use SDI as a trump. This is a natural, effective trump. The Soviet Union has a high regard for U.S. technology, and they would like to get rid of many of the weaknesses in their own position so as to halt the danger of SDI and get the chance to save their resources and to direct them away from the military sphere to the economic sphere."

Then Carter says, "Let us return to Europe for a bit, Gerdt." (Ruge) says, "May I first ask Academician Sagdeyev, you will recall that we proposed an interim basis on which Gorbachev and Reagan would be able to have a meeting. Is such an interim basis possible for the Soviet Union?"

Sagdeyev replies, "I understand that Mr Mense is not prepared to go his half of the way, but I would go half the distance in order to talk one to another. This has happened during the course of our debate, so to speak."

(Ruge) calls for comment from Chalfont, who says, "I agree with Bill Colby and my Russian colleague, and I believe that an interim basis does exist for blocking SDI at the talks and for not using SDI as a trump against them."

Hodding Carter and (Ruge) wind up the debates in Washington and Hamburg. This is followed by an American film with superimposed Russian translation reviewing how, since the earliest nuclear tests, scientists have been warning of the dangers of nuclear fall-out. The film shows how Matthew Meselson, a Harvard scientist, demonstrated that yellow rain, which the U.S. administration had said proved the USSR used biological weapons, had natural causes. The film shows last years Soviet-U.S. scientific exchange to monitor nuclear tests.

In Washington, Hodding Carter then introduces his second panel with Kurt Gottfried, Lisbeth Gronlund, Matthew Meselson, and (Richard Scribner). In Hamburg, (Ruge) introduces the following panel members: Yevgeniy Velikhov, vice-president of the USSR Academy of Sciences; (Anne Davis), a Cambridge University physicist and coordinator of the Scientists Against Star Wars campaign; (Peter Starlinger), professor of genetics at Cologne University; and

Joseph Rotalat, a U.S. scientist, professor of physics at London University, former secretary of the Pugwash conference, and participant in the wartime development of the atom bomb.

Back in the studio Kapitsa fills in some of the biographical details of the scientists taking part in the discussion. The Western members of the panels discuss the scientists' responsibility to take a critical look at the workings of government, saying they have a duty to bring the issues of nuclear weapons, and Star Wars in particular, to the attention of the public.

(Ruge) then asks what the position of scientists in the Soviet Union is. Velikhov responds that "The possibility of taking an active part in discussions on such very important questions as Star Wars, ABM systems, and all aspects of space weaponry is very important. For instance, we had a long and fruitful discussion with the U.S. National Academy of Sciences. As a result of this discussion, we attached great significance to agreeing on a banning of the transfer of any kinds of weapons into space. After we returned from Washington in 1983 we talked to our military leaders, our political leaders and I think that our conversations had (?some influence) on the Soviet Union's declaration in August 1983 of an unilateral moratorium on space and anti-satellite weapons."

The Western members of the panels then describe the growing support among scientists for a boycott of Star Wars research and advocate arms reduction talks between the United States and USSR. A film is shown outlining a package of disarmament proposals put forward by the Union of Concerned Scientists.

(Ruge) then asks Velikhov if the problem of monitoring is an obstacle to concluding a comprehensive test ban treaty. Velikhov says; "We discussed this at the symposium here, and now we are having this debate. I think that scientists and seismologists have demonstrated that monitoring does not present a problem. In order to show this quite clearly, we reached an agreement with the Natural Resources Defense Council and established three seismic detection points each in Semipalatinsk and Nevada, installing equipment capable of registering very weak jolts. Under these circumstances, monitoring is not a problem or an obstacle to the signing of an agreement on a comprehensive test ban."

(Ruge) asks if this can be done in the Soviet Union so that the West can say that Soviet tests can also be monitored. Velikhov answers that this has already been done, saying that ("?it was on 7 July.")

(Ruge) then asks if Velikhov is convinced that it will work, and that on the present scale it will be enough for the West to feel confident, to which Velikhov responds: "No, I think that in the future there will be an improved system, including a worldwide, global network of seismic observations." The Western scientists then discuss the value of a nuclear test ban and stress the public's hostility to SDI.

Back in the studio, Kapitsa, in his closing remarks, says: "This was not the end of the discussion of problems connected with the role of science in the arms race and ways of halting it. In Moscow, in the next day or two a forum

of scientists in support of deep arms reductions and the halting of the race in the sphere of nuclear armaments is opening. This is one of the steps in what I would call the shaping of points of view and standpoints among the international scientific community on these problems and the working out of ideas that are at the basis of the new thinking which is now developing in the world, a thinking without which we cannot halt the arms race or learn to live in peace in a new way. I think that this should be regarded as the significance of these meetings: they should be seen as stages on the way to this nuclear-free, peaceful future of our planet."

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CSO: 5200/1335

## SDI AND SPACE ARMS

USSR: U.S. TREATMENT OF WEST EUROPEAN ALLIES DEPLORED

PM191601 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Feb 87 First Edition p 3

[Military Observer V. Chernyshev "TASS Commentary for KRASNAYA ZVEZDA": "Lessons for Washington's 'Kid Brothers'"]

[Text] Washington has again, and for the umpteenth time during the Reagan administration's rule, crudely rebuffed its allies. In response to the expression of deep disquiet voiced by West Europeans at the United States' undermining of the ABM Treaty and possible moves by it to deploy SDI, K. Adelman, director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, has stated that U.S. allies should not give Washington advice on how the ABM Treaty is "to be construed." I think, Adelman said, they are insufficiently qualified for that.

Such representatives of the present U.S. Administration are convinced the allies are only "qualified" enough to applaud the U.S. leadership's every move and accept in their countries as many weapons and types of weapons as the United States deems necessary. Washington has for a long time now merely informed the allies about decisions it has taken unilaterally, presenting them with faits accomplis and in no way consulting them. It treats its "kid brothers" with imperial disdain, places U.S. interests above its partners' national interests, and foists its home-grown concepts of political conduct on them.

The Reagan administration bluntly formulated its attitude to the allies as early as 1981. When, at a session of the National Security Council Planning Group, reference was made to the extremely unfavorable reaction of the peoples and countries of West Europe to the U.S. decision to produce neutron weapons, Caspar Weinberger, followed by the President himself, voiced their utter contempt for their opinion. "The United States cannot allow," the Pentagon chief stated, "European political problems to play a dominant role when making decisions affecting the American Armed Forces' military potential." Reagan, for his part, stressed "the Europeans must not be given the right of veto regarding military decisions made by the United States: and he "will no longer allow U.S. decisions to depend on allies's support." That is precisely how Washington has acted and continues to act.

Let us remember how Reagan decided to abandon the SALT II treaty without any consultation with the allies on this fundamental question of joint policy. The allies were forced with impotent indignation to "take note" of the decision. Bypassing many allies, Washington secured through the NATO structure the decision to produce binary chemical weapons, giving the West Europeans yet another lesson in "equal partnership" within the North Atlantic bloc.

Let us remember how U.S. Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle dressed down British Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs Geoffrey Howe for what he had to say on the dangerous consequences of the "Star Wars" program! Again, it was Perle who, speaking quite recently in Munich, attacked and threatened the allies and described the elimination of nuclear weapons and talks to completely eliminate chemical weapons as "nonsense." Richard Burt, U.S. ambassador to the FRG, threatened the allies that U.S. troops would be pulled out of West Europe if the allies refused to create more favorable conditions for the sale of U.S. products on their market. He bluntly demanded the West Europeans considerably cut Common Market expenditure on agricultural needs and channel the funds released into speeding up military programs.

NEWSWEEK once acknowledged the relative influence of the United States and its allies inside the North Atlantic alliance has become quite incommensurate. The dictatorial manners of the transatlantic partner, whose policy has become increasingly aggressive and unpredictable under the Reagan administration, is causing indignation in West European NATO countries. E. Bahr, prominent figure in the SPD, said in an article published in the weekly magazine VORWAERTS last June that Washington's unilateral actions are "poisoning the alliance."

And now we have Washington "warning" the West Europeans that the fate of a treaty fundamental to international stability will be decided by it alone, disregarding the allies' security interests. When the decision has been taken, it will be "explained" to them in due course. Perhaps the "insufficiently qualified" allies will be able to understand what guides the U.S. Administration in its action. I think they are perfectly well aware in West Europe of the kind of very dangerous adventure in which Washington could embroil the NATO countries. That is precisely why the West European capitals are so disquieted by all the "new interpretations" of the ABM Treaty now being discussed in the U.S. capital.

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CSO: 5200/1308

## SDI AND SPACE ARMS

### CANADA: CLARK URGES U.S. TO COMPLY WITH ABM TREATY

Toronto THE GLOBE AND MAIL in English 9 Feb 87 p A5

[Article by Jeff Sallot]

[Text]

#### OTTAWA

Facing the possibility of early Star Wars tests and deployment, Canada is urging the U.S. Government to comply strictly with the terms of the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty.

External Affairs Minister Joe Clark, currently on an official visit to India, sent a letter to U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz Saturday strongly urging Washington to maintain strict compliance with the treaty.

Mr. Clark reaffirmed the importance Canada places on the existing arms control agreements, especially the ABM treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union, an External Affairs Department spokesman said yesterday.

There is a raging debate within the Reagan Administration on how to interpret the ABM treaty. A strict interpretation would limit the ability of the United States to proceed with early tests and deployments of components of the proposed strategic defence initiative, known popularly as Star Wars.

Canadian officials consider the outcome of the internal U.S. Administration debate to be crucial enough to keep Mr. Clark posted on a regular basis during his trip to India.

Mr. Shultz has been one of those in the Administration favoring a strict interpretation. But reports from Washington late last week said Mr. Shultz might cave in to Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger and other advocates of the space-oriented missile defence program.

Officials were quoted as saying Mr. Shultz would not oppose an Administration decision to adopt a broad interpretation of the ABM treaty so long as the Congress and allies were consulted first.

"It sounds like Mr. Shultz is sending out an SOS for the ABM treaty and needs help and words of support from the allies," says John Lamb, director of the Canadian Centre for Arms Control and Disarmament, an independent think tank.

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain and Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany at various times have urged the United States to stick to a strict interpretation. Reports last week said Lord Carrington, the Secretary-General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Japanese diplomats and Anthony Acland, the British Ambassador to Washington, have made similar representations in recent days in an attempt to bolster Mr. Shultz's position.

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CSO: 5220/30

## SDI AND SPACE ARMS

### CANADIAN EDITORIAL ON COMPLIANCE WITH ABM TREATY

Toronto THE TORONTO STAR in English 13 Feb 87 p A18

[Editorial]

[Text]

Kenneth Adelman, head of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, said this week that the Western allies have no business telling Washington how to interpret the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union. "It's nice to have the views of the allies and everything, but it's nicer to have the views of the allies on issues they know more about," he added patronizingly.

We beg to differ.

The treaty, signed in 1972, prohibits the testing and deployment of weapons that could knock down incoming nuclear missiles. The thinking behind the treaty is that, if either the Soviets or Americans ever possessed such an ABM shield, they would feel less constrained to start a nuclear war — and the world would be a very much less stable place.

But the problem with the treaty — in the view of American hawks — is that it stands in the way of President Ronald Reagan's pet project, the Strategic Defence Initiative, popularly known as Star Wars, a space-based ABM system. To get around this obstacle, the hawks — notably Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger — have been advocating a novel interpretation of the treaty: that it prohibits conventional ABM systems, based on the ground, but not a high-tech, space-based system such as Star Wars.

This is at odds with the interpretation of most American allies, including Canada. Two years ago in the House of Commons, External Affairs Minister Joe Clark, while backing laboratory research on Star Wars as "prudent," stated unequivocally that "actual development and deployment of space-based ballistic missile defence systems by either side would transgress the limits of the ABM treaty." Just last weekend, Clark reiterated his view in a private letter to U.S.

Secretary of State George Shultz. The Japanese and the West Germans have expressed similar concerns. And at a meeting in London on Wednesday, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Italian Prime Minister Bettino Craxi asked the U.S. for full consultations with its European allies before it undertakes any Star Wars testing.

The reason for all this concern over Star Wars is clear: Outside Washington, it is viewed as a destabilizing project, one that could spark the very war it seeks to prevent; as a further escalation of the arms race; and as a major impediment to an East-West arms control accord. (Indeed, last fall the Reykjavik summit foundered on the verge of an agreement because Reagan refused to limit development of Star Wars weaponry.) Surely that is everyone's business.

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## SDI AND SPACE ARMS

### CANADA THREATENS TO PULL OUT OF SPACE PROJECT

Toronto THE GLOBE AND MAIL in English 14 Feb 87 p A4

[Article by Jeff Sallot and Stephen Strauss]

**[Text]** Canada may pull out of a manned space station project with the United States because of Pentagon plans for the orbiting laboratories, External Affairs Minister Joe Clark warned yesterday.

Canadian officials are not satisfied with the answers they got this week in Washington about the use the U.S. Department of Defence intends to make of the space station, Mr. Clark told the House of Commons.

Representatives from Japan, Canada, and countries in Western Europe met this week in Washington to discuss their joint participation in the \$13-billion (U.S.) space station.

If Canada is to participate, the federal Government will insist that the station be used only for peaceful purposes, or very minimally for defence, he said.

When the project was first proposed "it was understood that there might be some limited defence purposes," such as using the observatory to verify Soviet compliance with arms control agreements, Mr. Clark told reporters later.

Canada, along with Japan and Western European countries, understood that the space station was to be employed for peaceful scientific purposes.

In the past three months, however, there have been strong suggestions that the Pentagon might want to use the space station for military research.

The allies sought clarification from the United States during the meeting this week.

When asked yesterday if Canada is about to pull out of the project, Mr. Clark said: "I can't make that judgment yet. I'm not satisfied with the explanations that have been given to us to date on the uses of the space station."

His statements seem to reflect the confusing nature of a joint statement and a U.S.

interpretation of it that were issued after the Washington meeting. The joint document said that the "partners ... confirmed that the space station will be developed and used for peaceful purposes."

But U.S. spokesmen said yesterday that there is nothing in the U.S. understanding of the statement which would preclude a branch of the military from using the station. "A distinction has to be made between the user and the use. It is our position that the Department of Defence or any other military body has a right to use the space station," said a State Department spokesman.

Ram Jakhu, a senior researcher with the Institute of Air and Space Law at McGill University, said that it is unclear in law when a system becomes offensive. "There are those who say a nuclear bomb is a peaceful weapon," he said.

He added that the United States could mount a variety of weapons systems on the space station and still be in compliance with international law. This would seem only to deny the United States the right to load atomic weapons or other "instruments of mass destruction" on the station.

However, Mr. Clark may have been most troubled by a U.S. interpretation of the joint statement, which suggested the Americans would set their own rules for sections of the station they built. The United States "can use any space station elements designed by them for any purpose ... including national security," the document said.

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney announced Canadian participation in the project amid much official fanfare at the Quebec City Shamrock Summit meeting with President Ronald Reagan two years ago next month.

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CSO: 5220/30

SDI AND SPACE ARMS

BRIEFS

TASS: U.S. SEEKS KINETIC ARMS--New York, 16 Feb (TASS)--In the near future the United States will develop space-based kinetic weapons capable of knocking out intercontinental ballistic missiles in the boost phase of their flight, a spokesman of the Strategic Defence Initiative organisation said in an interview to the AVIATION WEEK AND SPACE TECHNOLOGY. According to the spokesman, that space strike weapon will weigh roughly 250 pounds and be small in size. It will be carried by low-orbit earth satellites. [Text] [Moscow TASS in English 1315 GMT 16 Feb 87 LD] /9274

CSO: 5200/1308

U.S.-USSR NUCLEAR AND SPACE ARMS TALKS

SOVIET SPOKESMAN ON U.S. TREATY 'VIOLATIONS'

LD261105 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0955 GMT 26 Feb 87

[Text] Moscow, 26 Feb (TASS) -- A spokesman of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs made the following statement today:

A few days ago, the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency published a report on U.S. adherence to the accords in the field of arms limitations. It is an attempt by the U.S. side to justify violations of the existing accords on limiting and reducing armaments. It was undertaken with the aim of covering up its unseemly actions which lead to disintegration of this field's legal and treaty system and to unleashing an unrestrained arms race.

These long-planned and systematically implemented steps to destroy the SALT II treaty, which established military parity between the USSR and the United States and restricted the strategic offensive arms race, were an open manifestation of the U.S. administration's policy. President Reagan's administration refused to ratify this treaty and began an unprecedented strategic weapons buildup program. The United States embarked on creating new generations of intercontinental ballistic missiles, strategic bombers, and nuclear-powered missile submarines. The SALT II treaty was a serious barrier to implementing this program, so the United States decided to abandon it as an obstruction. At the end of last year it stopped honoring its obligations under this agreement.

At present, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman went on, the United States is placing a mine under the ABM Treaty, regarding it as an obstacle to the SDI program that envisages the creation [sozdaniye] of a wide-scale antimissile defense system with space-based elements. As it speeds up work linked to SDI it conflicts more and more with the stipulations of this treaty. The U.S. side has started seeking pseudo-legal justifications for circumventing the treaty. It thought up the so-called "broad" interpretation, which, it is calculated in Washington, would permit continuing work on the SDI program, including work in space, while at the same time formally being a party to the treaty. The U.S. "broad" interpretation, if employed, would remove all restrictions on the creation [sozdaniye] of space antimissile defense, emasculate the treaty's essence, and wreck the process of nuclear arms limitation.

The plans for creating new types of nuclear weapons and devices for ABM purposes within the SDI program underlie Washington's negative stand on ending nuclear tests. The United States prefers to remain silent on its pledges under the 1963 treaty on a nuclear weapons test ban in the atmosphere, in space, and underwater, and the 1969 nuclear weapons nonproliferation treaty, which seek the universal and total end of nuclear tests. The United States openly states its intention to continue nuclear testing as long as nuclear weapons exist. The nuclear component of the SDI program also threatens to undermine the 1967 treaty on the principles of activities of states in space research, which bans the placement of objects carrying nuclear weapons in orbit or their siting in space by any means.

The facts show that the United States is working toward opening the floodgates for an unbridled arms race and breaking agreements which serve as a basis for strategic stability, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed. The USSR, as a consistent advocate of strict observance of pledges undertaken for arms limitation and reduction, resolutely condemns this course of the U.S. Administration.

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CSO: 5200/1310

U.S.-USSR NUCLEAR AND SPACE ARMS TALKS

TASS CONDEMNS SHULTZ DENVER SPEECH

LD211536 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2145 GMT 21 Feb 87

[Excerpt] Washington, 21 Feb (TASS)--U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz spoke in Denver, Colorado yesterday at a joint session of the Institute of International Education and the International Affairs Council, delivering an extensive speech on foreign policy issues. He dwelled in particular on "the role which the United States aspires to play in today's world" and, in his own words, expounded "the chief goals of U.S. foreign policy."

Regarding relations with the Soviet Union, the secretary of state asserted that "in relations with the USSR, the United States is trying to achieve the realization of four points on the agenda: arms control, regional conflicts, issues of bilateral relations, and human rights." He went on to acknowledge that "during the course of discussions between U.S. President R. Reagan and General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev, in Reykjavik, potential areas of agreements were revealed in regard to a substantial reduction, subject to mutual verification [proverka], of offensive strategic weapons." He further asserted that the United States "remains devoted to seeking such opportunities" and "will continue its efforts -- in accordance with the ABM Treaty -- aimed at studying the opportunities of strengthening...stability by means of greater reliance upon defense."

Shultz' formulation here conceals a clear effort to justify beginning work on implementing Reagan's notorious "Star Wars" program. It is well known that the U.S. administration has with this aim in view already decided to torpedo the ABM Treaty, resorting to a "broad interpretation" of this document. These steps, as well as Washington's refusal to observe stipulations of the SALT II treaty, will lead to the destruction of existing treaty system in the sphere of arms control and are in direct contradiction to the spirit of Reykjavik.

Shultz' speech also frankly revealed the United States former policy of dragging out negotiations with the USSR on arms control and of conducting these from "a position of strength." He bluntly stated in particular: "Both time and tough negotiations are required to work out the details of any significant agreement with the USSR. To ensure that these negotiations are successful, we must take the necessary steps to keep America strong." Shultz implemented such conditions in spite of the fact that to date, the Reagan administration has spent nearly \$1.5 trillion in strengthening the U.S. military might, the lion's share of which has gone toward increasing the U.S. first-strike potential and creating [sozdainye] more new and even more destructive offensive weapons. However, policy from a position of strength and attempts to secure superiority for oneself are hopeless and ruinous. As the entire history of arms control negotiations shows, this approach on Washington's part has led to blocking negotiations and to a torpedoing of efforts in search of agreement.

U.S.-USSR NUCLEAR AND SPACE ARMS TALKS

USSR'S GROMYKO, OUTGOING U.S. ENVOY DISCUSS REYKJAVIK, SALT II

LD191543 Moscow TASS in English 1457 GMT 19 Feb 87

[Text] Moscow February 19 TASS -- Andrey Gromyko, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, received in the Kremlin today Arthur Hartman, U.S. ambassador to the USSR, in connection with the expiring of his term of office in Moscow and the coming return to the U.S.

During the conversation Gromyko pointed out the complicated nature of the present stage of Soviet-American relations. There exist real conditions for their positive and steady development. However, these conditions can be used if new approaches are displayed to the solution of the problem of mutual security.

Well-balanced and large-scale Soviet proposals at the Reykjavik meeting which took into account the interests of both sides are a vivid manifestation of a new political thinking. They revealed a possibility of finding a way to a nuclear-free world. The significance of the Soviet-American summit meeting in Reykjavik consists in the fact that it changed dramatically the essence of the debate about the future of the world and about its destiny.

It was emphasized that the provisions of the speech delivered by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at his meeting with participants in the international forum "For a Nuclear-free World, for the Survival of Humanity" were a concentrated expression of the Soviet views on international relations as a whole. Specifically, the USSR is ready to reduce to a reasonably sufficient minimum all the armaments and to aim at a complete elimination of mass destruction weapons.

The USSR and the U.S. could work out in the near future agreements in all the spheres included in the talks on nuclear and space weapons. However, the way to it is blocked by the stubborn striving of Washington for blasting the ABM Treaty after it has blasted SALT-2, and for speeding up the implementation of the "Star Wars" program (SDI). It is deplorable as well that the U.S. stubbornly refuses to stop its nuclear tests.

Arthur Hartman thanked Andrey Gromyko for a considerate attitude accorded to him in the Soviet Union.

The conversation was held in businesslike and frank atmosphere.

It was attended by Richard Combs who remains as charge d'affaires ad interim of the U.S. in the USSR.

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CSO: 5200/1310

U.S.-USSR NUCLEAR AND SPACE ARMS TALKS

SOVIET DELEGATION CHIDES U.S. NEGOTIATING STANCE

LD252059 Moscow TASS in English 2047 GMT 25 Feb 87

[*"Announcement by the Soviet Delegation at the Geneva Talks" -- TASS headline*]

[Text] Geneva February 25 TASS -- In connection with the press conference on the issue of strengthening the regime of the ABM Treaty, which was held at the USSR Mission in Geneva on February 24, the U.S. delegation at the talks on nuclear and space weapons issued a "refutation". An unfounded accusation is made in it that in the course of the above-said press conference public was incorrectly informed about the U.S. stand at the talks on the space weapons issue.

The contents of the statement for the press made by the U.S. delegation shows that it is by no means Soviet representatives, but the American side that has embarked on the path of misleading public opinion.

It is a fact that it is precisely at the current round of the talks that the U.S. Administration has for the first time officially tabled at Geneva the text of the proposal (?aimed to) legalized the so-called "broad interpretation" of the ABM Treaty. It can be "denied" by the single method -- by radically revising the above-said U.S. proposal. But, to all appearances, the U.S. side is not yet ready to make such a sensible step. For the known reason they in Washington are at present concerned not with taking measures directed at strengthening the regime of the ABM Treaty, but with finding an excuse for the planned large-scale testing of ABM space-based weapons being developed within the framework of the SDI program.

That is why they needed to invent in the 13th year of the ABM Treaty being in effect "a broad interpretation" designed to distort by means of pseudo-legal casuistry the essence of the limitation imposed by the treaty and thus open the way for U.S. strike weapons into outer space.

The references made in the statement of the U.S. delegation to the effect that the U.S. Administration has already since the autumn of 1985 been declaring its commitment to a "broad interpretation" of the ABM Treaty is proof of the unconstructive attitude of the United States to the key problem of the talks -- the space weapons.

The attempts of the U.S. side at legalizing the "broad interpretation" of the ABM Treaty under the conditions when even many Washington's allies in NATO and prominent figures in the USA itself are expressing concern over the dangerous consequences of torpedoing the regime set by that important document, constitute a serious obstacle for advancement at the talks, prevent a consolidation of the accord reached at Reykjavik on non-use for a term of ten years of the right to abandon the ABM Treaty and a strict observance of all its provisions.

U.S.-USSR NUCLEAR AND SPACE ARMS TALKS

TASS ON HOUSE REPORT ON REYKJAVIK: U.S. UNPREPARED

Reagan Stance Hit

LD161342 Moscow TASS in English 1259 GMT 16 Feb 87

[Text] Washington February 16 TASS -- TASS correspondent Nikolay Turkatenko reports:

The defense policy panel of the House Committee on Armed Services released here a report on the Soviet-American summit meeting in Reykjavik on October 11-12 last year. Its authors admit that the Soviet delegation arrived in the Icelandic capital with concrete and detailed proposals and showed flexibility in the talks. The American delegation, however, was virtually unprepared for serious talks. The first impression was, the report notes, that the meeting offered an opportunity to reach important accords on medium-range nuclear weapons, nuclear testing and 50-percent cuts in strategic offensive armaments. The United States, however, declined a compromise.

Reagan's belief in SDI and his inability to understand the objections of the Soviet side led him to toughen his stand at the talks.

The report makes special note of confusion among the American delegates in summing up the results of the Reykjavik meeting. In his address to the nation on the evening of October 13, President Reagan claimed that as a result of Reykjavik, the two sides were closer than ever before to agreements that could lead to a safer world without nuclear weapons but stated at the same time that he had not surrendered SDI. The day before, at a press conference on October 12, Secretary of State George Shultz said that the talks in Reykjavik had aimed at the eventual abolition of all the nuclear offensive weapons. President Reagan himself confirmed this at his meeting with congressional leaders on October 14. However, the administration immediately began to argue that the talks in Reykjavik concerned only the eventual elimination of ballistic missiles.

'Graphic Evidence' of Confusion Cited

LD161700 Moscow TASS in English 1548 GMT 16 Feb 87

[Text] Washington, 16 Feb (TASS)--TASS correspondent Nikolay Turkatenko reports:

The U.S. delegation had arrived in Reykjavik for the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting of October 11-12, 1986, practically unprepared for serious talks.

This conclusion is contained in a report issued here today by a group of experts of the Committee on Armed Services of the U.S. House of Representatives.

The report describes the Reagan administration's conduct in the capital of Iceland as confusion.

The report points out that it seemed, at first, that an opportunity presented itself during the meeting to reach important accords on medium-range nuclear weapons, on nuclear tests and on 50-percent cuts in strategic offensive arms. However, the United States declined to make a compromise.

The report says that various interpretations inside the U.S. delegation as to what actually happened in Reykjavik are quite a graphic evidence that the U.S. side was ill-prepared for the negotiations.

In his address to the nation the evening of October 13, President [as received] claimed that the Soviet Union and the United States 'are closer than ever before to agreements that could lead to a safer world without nuclear weapons' and at the same time he emphasised that he had refused to compromise on SDI.

The day before that U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz had stated at his press conference on October 12 that the talks in Reykjavik were about ultimate elimination of all nuclear offensive arms. This was also confirmed by President Reagan himself during the meeting with the Congress leaders on October 14.

However, the administration immediately began to state that the talks in Reykjavik were about eliminating finally only ballistic missiles.

The report recalls that on the eve of the Reykjavik meeting the administration had secured from Congress the withdrawal of a number of resolution on arms control issues on the plea that their passage would have made summit talks more difficult for the United States.

These included, in particular, several amendments passed by the House of Representatives: denial of funds to support deployment of forces in excess of the SALT-2 treaty sublimits, a continued moratorium on anti-satellite (ASAT) weapons testing, and a new one-year moratorium on all but the smallest nuclear weapons tests, a hold on production of chemical weapons, maintaining SDI funding at last year's level plus 33.5 per cent for inflation.

However, as the report emphasises, congressional consent to meet the administration's demands and thereby give the United States maximum negotiating flexibility in Reykjavik did not have any effect on the course of the talks.

To this the authors of the report could have added that the administration is known to have made use of congressional yieldingness only to torpedo the SALT-2 treaty shortly after the meeting in Reykjavik, to refuse outright any moratorium on nuclear tests whatsoever, and to demand a sharp increase in appropriations for SDI in the draft federal budget for the 1988 fiscal year and even additional appropriations for the "Star Wars" programme for the current 1987 fiscal year.

As far as the stand of the Soviet side at the meeting in Reykjavik is concerned, the report admits that the Soviet delegation arrived there thoroughly prepared for the talks, with specific and detailed proposals, and showed "apparent flexibility" during the talks.

## U.S.-USSR NUCLEAR AND SPACE ARMS TALKS

TASS ON SDI, INF: U.S. INTENDS ALLIES TO ABSORB 'RETALIATORY BLOW'

LD171752 Moscow TASS in English 1729 GMT 17 Feb 87

[Text] Moscow February 17 TASS -- By TASS military writer Vladimir Bogachev:

Washington sees the network of its military bases in Western Europe and Asia not only as a means of bringing pressure to bear on the Soviet Union and other socialist countries but also as a lever for projecting U.S. political, economic and military interests in the countries included in the so-called "zone of U.S. vital interests".

Some of the specific tasks of American military presence outside the national boundaries of the United States have changed from time to time, depending on the particular strategic concepts adopted by the Pentagon.

But the prime mission of the U.S. military bases overseas has always been to ensure that, if the United States starts a war, the damage to the territory of the aggressor (that is the U.S. itself) will be only minimal and that the brunt of the cost of Washington's military adventures will be borne by European and Asian nations.

The "Star Wars" program and the concept for deploying U.S. nuclear arms far from U.S. territory form the basis of the Pentagon's military strategy. The ominous meaning of the present U.S. Administration's military preparations boils down to "an ABM shield" for the United States and "a limited nuclear war" for Europe and Asia.

Apart from everything else, the U.S. allies hosting American military bases should, as the Pentagon sees it, perform the role of a lightning conductor absorbing part of the retaliatory blow.

U.S. military presence in Europe has certainly made it easier for Washington to get its medium-range nuclear missiles installed in the territories of other NATO countries.

After agreeing, contrary to their national security interests, to accept American Pershing and cruise missile deployments in their territories, European NATO countries have taken also a second fateful step, by giving their consent to cooperate with the U.S. Administration in the "Star Wars" effort.

The hopes to perpetrate aggression with impunity reflect the Stone-Age mentality which is, alas, characteristic of Washington strategy-makers.

These hopes to survive a nuclear war by exposing one's allies to the blow and thus escaping it oneself are equally illusory and dangerous. They are dangerous not only for the victim of the aggression but also to the aggressor himself.

The issue of dismantling foreign military bases was first raised by the members of the socialist community years ago but it has lost none of its relevance.

A positive resolution of this issue would constitute an important step to stronger peace and stability on earth.

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U.S.-USSR NUCLEAR AND SPACE ARMS TALKS

PRAVDA SEES U.S. UNDERMINING ARMS CONTROL SYSTEM

PM311403 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jan 87 First Edition p 4

[Report by own correspondent V. Gan: "Washington: A 'No' Blockage"]

[Excerpt] Washington, Jan--Under the present administration the alliance between the military-industrial complex and the so-called ideologists, to whom the very existence of the Soviet Union is unacceptable, has become very apparent. Twenty years or so ago they were known as "madmen," now they are called "hawks." Recently a new name was dreamed up--"extractors" [vyzhimalshchiki]. It is they who are calling for a hard line, a consistently hard line in relations to Moscow. Compromise, in their view, is absolutely out of the question. Maximum tension is needed, they insist, and then the USSR will beg for mercy and change its system.

But they are not having it all their own way. Because of the heightened public awareness of questions of war and peace they are forced to maneuver: They take one step forward and then, straight away, two steps back. They cannot tell Americans straight that they do not want to conclude agreements with the USSR. They are very well aware that Americans--and this was very apparent throughout 1986--are slowly but surely realizing the pernicious nature of the arms race and the ever increasing danger of a nuclear catastrophe. But the public's "weak spot," the bulk of the public, at any rate, is passivity, the lack of any clear idea of the existing realities.

A paradoxical situation is taking shape. On the one hand, 70-80 percent of Americans are constant advocates of agreements with the USSR on arms control. On the other hand, nearly the same majority believes in the old, cheap stereotypes of anti-Sovietism which are being manipulated by the administration.

The fact that Washington's "no" to the Soviet program for eliminating nuclear weapons has not caused particular waves of public indignation here is largely due to the contradictions in Americans' views. The indignation has essentially been neutralized by arguments that "nuclear weapons are necessary in order to curb Soviet ambitions" and that "the existence of nuclear arsenals is necessary in the light of conflicting ideologies." As a result, as the center for the study of questions of war and peace and the media rightly said, after decades of talk about getting rid of nuclear armaments, the country has in fact probably not yet decided whether that is what it wants.

Obviously it is difficult to decide when you are being told that the administration is putting forward a peace initiative practically every day, but the Russians always reject them. When they omit to mention that these "initiatives" are nothing but increased demands for concessions by the USSR, brazen attempts to impose their will as "payment for agreement."

It would be no exaggeration to say that each day of the unilateral Soviet moratorium on nuclear explosions increases more and more Americans' perception of the truth. During this period the PRAVDA correspondents' center has acquired a mass of newspaper cuttings sent in by Americans, requests, and letters from them in support of the ban on nuclear explosions. I will mention one letter which, to use the American expression, "pulls the carpet from under the administration's feet" in a most convincing manner. It is from the physicist (Kh. Devitt) of the Livermore Laboratory. Yes indeed, the very place which is one of the leading centers in the United States for the creation of new types of armaments. The scientist proves point by point the tenuous nature of the U.S. stance, which "can only harm our own security."

But that is (Kh. Devitt's) view. In the Washington corridors of power it is somewhat different. There common sense appears to be giving way to pressure, to brute force. It is the force of the military-industrial complex, combined with the inertia of hopelessly obsolete thinking. This was strikingly demonstrated by the meeting in Reykjavik at which the administration said "no" not only to the Soviet Union, but, essentially, to the whole world. In Reykjavik the package of Soviet initiatives confronted the administration with a choice--either it rises to the level of present-day demands or acknowledges its own duplicity. To general disappointment, the latter path was taken, since to choose the former would have meant for Washington an unwelcome review of the practice of international relations, above all relations with the Soviet Union.

What, go wearing propagandist glasses, and then end up exposing yourself? No, that was not part of Washington's plan. So, on the way home, they decide to turn everything upside down. That is, as the journalist A. Lewis wrote, "sell a totally different version to the country--an optimistic version, blaming the Russians for the absence of agreement and praising themselves for thwarting their efforts to take our defenses away." The chief indicator of the administration's "valor" was the statement that the White House incumbent had expertly "avoided the Soviet trap." What they called a trap was the USSR's just demand for a stronger ABM Treaty of unlimited duration and a commitment not to quit it for the next 10 years and to confine research and testing of "star wars" weapons to the laboratory for that period. This demand is really just, admit serious experts who are very well aware that the so-called "strategic defense initiative" (SDI) is no more defensive than MX first-strike missiles are "peacemakers."

Following the U.S. "no" in Reykjavik, the very eminent authorities M. Bundy, G. Kennan, R. McNamara, and G. Smith published an article in THE NEW YORK TIMES in which they noted the incompatibility of SDI and arms control and pointed out that America must choose one or the other. They obviously did

not like to think that the administration had already chosen: From Washington's statements alone it is clear enough that there is a move toward revising all aspects on which mutual understanding has been reached, toward retreating to the pre-Reykjavik positions; they are inventing new excuses like a "missile insurance policy" and are blaming the allies, who are "worried" about the prospect of the removal of the U.S. "nuclear umbrella."

The end of last year saw new confirmation of the administration's purposeful efforts to undermine the whole existing system of arms control. It was the White House's break with the SALT II Treaty. Although, ostensibly, the violation of the treaty could probably be regarded as symbolic, there is apprehension here that it is merely the beginning of the dismantling of all restrictions and the buildup of the nuclear arsenal.

Recently I have had many meetings and frank conversations with Americans about what lies in store for our two countries this year. The general feeling was that it will be disappointment at Washington's actions. I particularly recall a conversation with Antonia (Cheyes), formerly U.S. deputy secretary of the air force, a very unusual post for a woman. She had already analyzed the Soviet proposals put forward in Reykjavik and said that the flexible proposals, taking U.S. interests into account, could form a sound basis for agreements. "Reykjavik," (Cheyes) believes, "demonstrated that the elimination of weapons is more a matter of political will." "Political goodwill" was what she said.

Many observers here believe that Reagan's presidency is now in its most difficult period. For the third month Washington is in the grip of exposures of secret machinations over arms supplies to Iran. In Congress, where since the elections the Democrats now have majorities in both houses, special investigatory commissions were set up. Public confidence in White House foreign policy has slumped and is obstinately refusing to return to its former heights. They are busy passing the buck in connection with the Iran scandal, but, as THE NEW YORK TIMES rightly noted, "Reagan will ultimately be judged by whether he has achieved substantial agreements with the USSR in arms control."

But that is in the future. At the moment there is no answer to the fair question posed by the journalist (K. Rouen): "How much longer are we going to be frozen in an attitude of fear and hostility toward the Russians, when the danger to the whole of mankind continues to grow?"

It appears that America has not yet analyzed its own thoughts and feelings, anxieties and hopes, although the very first day of the 100th Congress revealed a heightened discrepancy between the approaches of the executive authority and a considerable proportion of the legislature to a very important sphere of foreign policy. Three resolutions had been submitted within a few hours of the start of the session. In support of the ABM Treaty, observance of the SALT II Treaty, and limitation of the yield of nuclear explosions. One would like to see this, and the appeal to the president by 50 congressmen suggesting postponement of the February explosion in Nevada, as evidence of a realistic perception of the demands of the times, a realization of the urgent need to rise above ideological differences and set about preserving peace.

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U.S.-USSR NUCLEAR AND SPACE ARMS TALKS

MOSCOW: 'CHANGE FOR THE BETTER' IN U.S. POLICY EXPECTED

LD131542 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 13 Feb 87

[Text] Soviet-U.S. relations are important for the success of the struggle for mankind's survival. The state of these relations and their prospects are commented on by political observer Nikolay Shishlin.

[Shishlin] Of course, the state of Soviet-U.S. relations leaves much to be desired. In his meeting with eminent U.S. political and public figures Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev quite correctly described the state of Soviet-U.S. relations as unworthy of two great peoples. The USSR is making honest and responsible efforts to smooth out relations between our two states and to put them into a normal harmonious path.

With this aim, the USSR concentrates attention on the need to solve the key problem of our time: to overcome the arms race, primarily the nuclear arms race. In this regard, properly speaking, the Soviet stance has been formulated as one which aims for deep reductions in all categories of the most dangerous types of armaments, from nuclear to chemical inclusive, and of course, conventional weapons.

The United States, as you know, in essence is creeping out of all treaties which might limit the arms race in any way. You know the United States demonstratively conducted a routine nuclear explosion in Nevada. Over recent days there have been increasingly frequent statements by high-ranking U.S. politicians who formulate literally impenetrable ideological stances, which aimed to freeze the present state of international tension.

This situation now requires very active efforts to overcome the manifestations of stagnation which have accumulated in Soviet-U.S. relations, hence, the need for the new political thinking, new political approaches which dictate the appropriate conduct not only to Moscow but also, and primarily, to Washington.

It might be said that Washington will continue to behave in its usual way, that is according to the principle of pretending to pay attention, but continuing just as before. In the first place, the situation in the United States is mobile and the situation in the world changes, the political climate changes. By the way, this is quite clearly shown by the forthcoming Moscow forum, For a Nuclear-Free World, for the Survival of Humanity. There are material changes. The state of the U.S. economy is such that the continuation of the arms race is having an increasingly harmful effect on the U.S. economy, on the social programs which continue to be cut in that country.

Therefore, I think time is now on the side of change for the better in Soviet-U.S. relations and not only as a result of the active positions of the USSR, but also as a result of the development of those underlying factors which, in the final analysis, decide foreign policy.

U.S.-USSR NUCLEAR AND SPACE ARMS TALKS

USSR: BOVIN SEES REAGAN DEEPENING 'COLD WAR TRENCHES'

PM241945 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Feb 87 Morning Edition p 3

[A. Bovin article: "In the 'Cold War' Trenches" under the rubric "Political Observer's Opinion"]

[Text] "Irangate" has placed the U.S. President, his friends and kindred spirits, and the entire Republican Party in a difficult position. R. Reagan's authority has clearly been damaged. His influence is on the wane. Washington officialdom has announced a sort of unofficial competition for ideas and suggestions. What can maintain the President's reputation? How might it be possible to compensate or what might compensate for the damage caused to the White House by the Iran-Nicaragua Adventure? Where is the trump card the Republicans could take with them into the next presidential elections?

The following option is among those being considered. The U.S. President will aim for major agreements on nuclear arms reduction, even if this means taking two or three extra steps to meet the "Russians." This would considerably strengthen his political positions and secure the White House for the Republicans for a minimum of another 4 years.

H. Kissinger is offering firm predictions for the immediate future. He believes that M.S. Gorbachev will go to Washington this year and agree to a "zero option" for Europe and that in 1988 R. Reagan will sign an agreement in Moscow on a 50 percent reduction in strategic forces. Kissinger himself is actually opposed to accords like these. He feels they are of greater benefit to the Soviet Union than the United States but is nevertheless predicting a "conciliatory stance" by R. Reagan.

It would be good if both visits really took place and both treaties were signed. this kind of payment for "Irangate" would suit everyone in Moscow, but matters are more complicated in Washington. And, I fear, the former U.S. secretary of state is being rather hasty in reproaching the President for inclining toward conciliation.

The fact that Reagan is still Reagan is evidenced, in my opinion, by the President's report on U.S. strategy in the national security sphere. I do not dispute that the report contains attempts -- admittedly not always consistent -- to break through layers of primitive anticommunism and move toward political reality. "Three fundamental principles" of U.S. policy regarding the Soviets are developed, for example. They are:

"Realism, which means that we must recognize the nature of the Soviet system and frankly and directly resolve the problems of our relations.

"Strength, which means not only military might but also political determination, the strength of alliances, and a healthy economy. The Soviet Union respects strength and uses weakness in its own interests.

"Dialogue, which means that we are prepared to discuss every problem that divides us and are willing to try to reach feasible, fair solutions on a basis compatible with our vital interests."

The United States has worked out a policy, the report claims, "oriented toward a long-term settlement of U.S.-Soviet relations...." And although the "most important fact" is that U.S.-Soviet relations are essentially relations of rivalry and will remain as such for the foreseeable future," both sides agree that "these relations should remain peaceful."

Without finding fault with these words and emphases, we can say: All right then, the principles and the policy have been worked out, let's proceed to the long-term settlement of Soviet-U.S. relations and begin fleshing them out with constructive, peaceful content.

This has not been the case however. Washington is, of course, in favor of "peaceful relations" with Moscow. It interprets these relations exclusively from an American viewpoint, exclusively from the standpoint of U.S. interests. The very image of "rival" is drawn in the same American way -- a combination of ignorance and fear. "Guided by the demands of a political system held together and dominated by Marxist-Leninist ideology and the political party which represents it, Moscow aspires to change the present international system and establish Soviet hegemony in the world. These long-term Soviet aims form the general ideological framework of Soviet foreign and defense policy."

The nature of the "long-term settlement" also corresponds to the "enemy" image.

Instead of strategic arms reduction, the emphasis is placed on continuing the strategic arms race -- but chiefly in those areas which the U.S. considers advantageous to itself. A thesis is being formulated concerning "strategic competitions" which set the aim of using U.S. "technical superiority" "on a considered, systematic basis" to make the Soviets "compete less effectively or less efficiently with us in the military application of technology." The "invisible" Stealth bomber, for example, could, according to the Pentagon, diminish the value of much of the Soviet ABM system, and so on.

The plan to shape "peaceful relations" with the Soviet Union includes undermining our country's ties with its socialist allies, attacking our friends in the "Third World," and weakening the USSR's influence in various regions of the world.

The same plan includes attempts to restrict and narrow the USSR's foreign economic ties. In particular, Washington is opposed to the USSR's joining international trade and finance organizations. "The governments of noncommunist countries," the President urges, "must show greater discipline when considering security issues in commercial relations between East and West."

"Ideological warfare" is designated one of the most serious tasks in the national security sphere. Who is the target? However strange it may seem, the U.S. itself is the prime target. It transpires that Americans are not particularly in support of the foreign policy course being followed by the White House, so, with the aid of ideological warfare, it is proposed to create a "natural base" of support for U.S. foreign policy within the United States itself.

A more traditional ideological adversary is the East Bloc. In this respect it is proposed to "penetrate closed societies" and inform "peoples without rights" of the advantages of "free institutions."

On the whole, economic restrictions, ideological warfare, political pressure, and continuation of the arms race is how Washington conceives of the "peaceful" development of Soviet-U.S. relations. Hopes of reorienting the President appear strange against this conceptual background, even as a result of the "Irangate" affair.

History and politics do not rule out but, on the contrary, presuppose all manner of surprises, sudden changes, and zigzags that are hard to predict. Nevertheless, the scope for anything "sudden" is quite limited, so Reagan will most probably remain as he is now. [paragraph continues]

In the opinion of the "Heritage Foundation," one of the United States' conservative think tanks, the President "has time to consolidate the path he intends U.S. foreign policy to follow...." This path is obvious. The U.S. Administration continues to deepen the "cold war" trenches.

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## U.S.-USSR NUCLEAR AND SPACE ARMS TALKS

### SOVIET GENERAL: SECURITY REQUIRES NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

Moscow XX CENTURY AND PEACE in English No 1, Jan 87 pp 38-42

[V. Bogdanov interview with Lt Gen (ret) Mikhail Milshteyn, doctor of historical sciences and professor: "On the Main Line of Advance: Is It Possible To Reach Security Without Disturbing Nuclear Arsenals?"]

[Text]

Q.: Many American politicians appropriately or inappropriately repeat their president's favourite phrase — that nations do not trust each other not because they have a lot of arms, but they arm themselves because there is no trust between them. But trust is not a one-way street. And this has been known for a long time. Apparently, however, until all sides concerned learn to think in a new way, conversations will remain conversations...

A.: First, some statistics. Following Reykjavik, The New York Times and the CBS TV company conducted a public opinion poll of Americans' attitude towards Ronald Reagan's posture at that meeting. It turns out that the number of those who approve of the president's performance has jumped from 64 to 72 per cent, and those who approve the Star Wars programme—from 62 to 75 per cent.

This is a clear example of how difficult it is for many people to step away from the smooth and well-oiled old thinking. In this case, I believe, the problem is the public's blind faith in what the president tells them, that is, not reason but emotions: many Americans consider Reagan as impeccable as the Pope.

When admitting the need for new approaches in international politics, statesmen, scientists and representatives of social movements primarily bear in mind the need to prevent nuclear war. This is only too clear. Because, it is generally believed, nuclear war, no matter in what conditions and on what scale it could start,

is bound to lead to a global holocaust and the likely destruction of civilization. But, in effect, there is nothing new in the simple statement of this fact — it has long been present, invisibly as it were — but constantly — in the strategic relationships of the two sides. It's a different matter that even this has not changed anything in the strategic plans of the USA, in its military programmes, its nuclear weapons testing and development.

Q.: What, in your opinion, was the American concept of security predicated on after the advent of nuclear weapons first in the American and then in the Soviet arsenals?

A.: The USA saw the guarantee of its security in military superiority (generally) and in nuclear weapons (primarily). And this gave birth to illusions. Washington began to fancy that it was capable of reaching its foreign policy objectives with the help of nuclear weapons — by threatening or even actually using them. This politico-military concept is also typical of NATO as a whole. Security was understood in the given case as ability to dictate and as the possibility of using nuclear weapons with impunity. On the other hand, this approach organically spelled a continual arms race and the development of ever new and ever more perfect types of nuclear weapons. It is not accidental that the United States is considered a sinister champion not only in the development of new lethal types of weapons, but the corresponding concepts of their use

like "massive deterrence", "limited nuclear war", "brinkmanship", "first strike", and so on.

But the most paradoxical thing is that nuclear weapons were given a noble image, as it were. They were called a means of containment or deterrence. And, of course, a corresponding deterrence concept was evolved. It became the pivot of the American military doctrine. And inasmuch as nuclear weapons were seen as weapons of deterrence, they were already considered eternal. It was taken for granted that deterrence could be feasible only given American superiority.

The 1970s cooled some hot heads in Washington for some time. The Soviet Union's achievement of strategic parity came as a big surprise for the White House. Now nuclear weapons became deadened, as it were: they patently did not ensure success any longer in the pursuit of policy from the positions of strength. The response of those who advocated the Bomb was predictable.

Feverish searches started for a means of upsetting the parity and regaining military superiority over the Soviet Union. The first half of the 1980s passed for American policy in attempts to "resurrect" the idea that nuclear weapons can be used as a means of reaching foreign policy objectives.

Such an immense nuclear arsenal was being built that it couldn't be justified by any interests—security, defence, containment, etc. A superkill potential was in effect being created.

A qualitative improvement proceeded on a very intensive scale since it created an illusion of being "attractive" and really usable in a war. The question, in particular, is in enhanced accuracy with the simultaneous reduction of flying time to the target. This immediately gave rise to a new concept, that of a "beheading strike", i.e., disabling the other side's political and military leadership in a short time.

New, even more destabilizing and dangerous lines of the arms race opened up. Primarily in the field of developing space strike weapons.

**Q.: You believe it is not accidental that the American strategy-planners' attention has shifted towards outer space? Why?**

**A.:** The point is that the transfer of the arms race to space was seen as the most promising undertaking. After all, it seemed to open a new path towards reaching military superiority over the Soviet Union. And then nuclear weapons themselves acquired a different qualitative value. After all, in ordinary conditions, that is, with the existence of strategic parity, as I have said, nuclear weapons were gradually turning into a deadweight, which could not be used either for military or for political

purposes. And the idea of placing nuclear weapons in space was a kind of resuscitation of them. It was then that there emerged the notorious Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), through the implementation of which Washington hoped and continues to hope to achieve military superiority over the USSR by threatening to use nuclear weapons with impunity.

As a result, first, the danger of a further spread of nuclear weapons and nuclear terrorism has increased. Second, the time factor has changed, and has taken on a totally different qualitative tenor. A situation has arisen, in which very little time remains for decision-making. And this decision will be based on computer data.

The danger of an accidental outbreak of war has sharply intensified. D. Krieger, President of the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation (USA), wrote in this connection: Immediately after the advent of nuclear weapons the warning about a likely nuclear attack could be received in ten-twelve hours, whereas now this time has been reduced to six-eight minutes in Europe and to less than thirty minutes in case intercontinental means are used in the attack.

There is a growing danger of wrong interpretation of the signals towards the "worst variant" and misguided responses to such signals. And all of this is such, despite the fact that the command, control and early warning system is being compounded and despite the fact that the time needed to size up the information and make rational decisions is being cut incessantly.

The late Prime Minister Olaf Palme of Sweden said: "Those who bear responsibility today for the extremely sophisticated nuclear systems are evidently quite sure that these systems are in reliable hands and safely controlled, and that technical equipment cannot in itself bring about the inconceivable — nuclear war. Technicians are even sure that they have completely ruled out the possibility of human error... Past experience, however, testifies that no technology is perfect and that it does not always fulfil the orders of its makers."

Today, however, according to the information leaked into the press, false alarms in the USA are sounded (on the average) four-five times a week.

Such being the case, the old security concept, which was given wide currency in the West and which drew on the use or threat of military force, primarily nuclear weapons, has become not only hopelessly outdated but simply dangerous. All the concepts that we know: "deterrence" "assured destruction", etc., serve as a stimulus and source of the arms race, which sooner or later can become uncontrollable.

In connection with this there arose demands to reconsider even such traditional political categories as war and victory in war. Light was thrown on the inacceptability and even meaninglessness of these traditional political categories in the present-day conditions, that is, in the nuclear age. A need arose for new security concepts. Their salient features were clearly defined at the 27th CPSU Congress, and I'll briefly recall some of them.

The security of every state is directly dependent on the security of all. This applies in equal measure to the USA and the USSR. That is to say, military superiority doesn't give political or any other gain to anyone: conversely, it generates instability, escalates the arms race and increases the danger of an outbreak of nuclear war. Furthermore. Strategic parity is a natural (i.e., organic and binding) element of Soviet-American relations. But the paradox is that today this parity ensures only equal danger. However, the question is of equal security. Consequently, the level of this parity must be lowered, it must be lowered as much as possible and again in the interests of complete security for all, deprived of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. In this way the question is of security without nuclear weapons, and herein lies the main, if not to say, revolutionary, substance of the new approach. Security without nuclear weapons, at a low level of confrontation, in general, with account being taken of the principle of equal security for all.

All of this, certainly, calls for bold and non-standard solutions. And this was expressed in the most vivid and comprehensible form in the Soviet position at the meeting in Reykjavik.

Q.: For many politicians in the West the well-known Statement by Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, made on January 15, 1986, with a proposal on the complete elimination of nuclear weapons by 2000, not only came as a surprise, but even sounded as utopian and unrealistic...

A.: This response can be understood. After all, this proposal was breaking the old notion when nuclear weapons were seen as the main instrument of security, and military superiority — as the only way of reliably guaranteeing it.

Q.: We say that the new mode of thinking is pushing its way, even if with difficulties. What, do you think, is specifically hampering this process?

A.: First and foremost, of course, conservatism of thinking, inertia and adherence to definite stereotypes. It is hard to immediately give up whatever has held human thinking captive for dozens of years. For many people, thinking in the old way is very convenient to this day.

Second, the desire to carry on the pursuit of policy from the positions of strength and with the help of nuclear weapons.

Third, definite groups' mercenary interest in the arms race.

Fourth, the West still hopes to bring economic pressure to bear on the Soviet Union with the help of the arms race..

But the new mode of thinking is pushing its way, and more quickly above all in the West — among rank-and-file people, participants in the antiwar movement— rather than politicians and statesmen. But here there is a need for even greater efforts.

If previously even such demands as the establishment of nuclear-free zones or zones free from battlefield weapons and chemical weapons, or some partial measures in the field of disarmament were considered natural and important solutions (and, rightly so), today the problem has arisen of how to get rid of all nuclear weapons in a short time. And at some moment in the course of the meeting in Reykjavik the possibility of delivering humankind of nuclear weapons was admitted by both sides. Later, it is true, the Americans reneged, but that is a different story.

The lively response to our proposals among participants in the mass antiwar movement testifies that the new thinking is consistent with the interests of ordinary people who are sincerely interested in ending the arms race.

The sprouts of the new mode of thinking are pushing their way up, telling on decisions passed at a state-to-state level (despite fierce resistance). An example of this is the Stockholm Conference, where agreements were reached on confidence-building measures and on the non-use of force. Regrettably, there are also negative examples. Take the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, which marked their 13th anniversary in October 1986. These talks show what happens when there is no political will in reaching by no means difficult results that are necessary against the general background. After all, what is in question in Vienna is merely a reduction of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO armed forces by several thousand officers and men. If these talks are seen through the prism of what is being proposed now: elimination of nuclear weapons, reduction of the conventional armed forces by a million and a half men, the subject matter of these talks looks simply like trifles. Nevertheless, discussions, disputes, counting, etc., are going on there. Isn't it a disgrace for the history of the arms limitation talks?

Q.: You said that a change had been wrought into many notions which, for de-

cadades, were considered immutable in politics and in relations between states. But the ancients even said: "Nulla salus bello" — "There is no rescue in war". And what meaning is there today in the term "victory in nuclear war"?

A.: The very term "victory in nuclear war" is completely asymmetric to the notion "victory". In nuclear war there can be no winner, irrespective of the conditions in which it started and irrespective of someone's illusory superiority. Victory will spell the death for all humankind. So that to speak about it in nuclear war is both blasphemous and illogical. The notion of victory in the old meaning, i.e., as attainment of some advantageous results, cannot be collated with such a notion as "war".

Q.: Do you mean that the very notion of war is withering away?

A.: And what is war? War has always been seen as a means for reaching definite aims. There is the well-known formula which considers war as a continuation of politics by different means. But it is impossible to reach political objectives through nuclear war. There simply will be no live results.

Now a very important and, I would say, very interesting period has set in for the antiwar movement. If we take the Reykjavik meeting, it reflected the positions of both sides as if in a huge mirror. I would not say that the American side's position was completely negative. When it came to the elimination of strategic nuclear weapons and medium-range missiles, the American side seemed to agree with us. But our partners in the talks found themselves entangled in three chains.

The first chain is dogma and conservatism, the conviction that military superiority still has to be sought by all means. And one of them is SDI—the US President's ominous brainchild.

The second chain is the powerful pressure being brought to bear on the White House by the circles of the military-industrial complex which have a stake in the arms race. And the Strategic Defense Initiative opens for them (for years, even for decades) the possibility of amazing fabulous profits.

And the last chain. The American side does not want the Soviet Union to cast off the economic burden of the arms race.

Q.: By its moratorium on nuclear tests, the Soviet Union has kind of emphasized that it will not and does not want to take part in the arms race, that it has more important domestic objectives...

A.: Quite right. We really do not want to take part in the arms race. Moreover, the entire package of our proposals in Reykjavik has shown what compromises we are prepared to accept for the sake of ending the arms race, for the sake of preserving peace on Earth. We made far-reaching compromises. We not only do not want to take part in the arms race ourselves, we do not want the whole world to take part in it. This is consonant with the interests of both the Soviet and American as well as all other peoples.

But there is one area in which we adhere to an uncompromising line. And we will continue doing so. The question is of maintaining the Soviet Union's security and not giving some hot heads in the West a pretext to believe that our security has been weakened. This will never come about. And that reasonable sufficiency ensuring both our security and that of the other socialist countries, which Mikhail Gorbachev spoke about at the 27th CPSU Congress, will be secured under any conditions. But it can also be secured even without nuclear weapons.

Q.: What do you think about the part played by people's diplomacy? Has its significance increased?

A.: Some forms of people's diplomacy already have a considerable role to play in international politics today. I want to mention such outstanding questions of relations between the USSR and the USA which have been discussed tet-a-tet, so to speak, by the representatives of the two peoples. Those were, for instance, the peace cruises down the Volga and the Mississippi and the meeting of Soviet and American public representatives at Jurmala in Soviet Latvia.

The latter event was a very interesting and unusual meeting. For the first time, in the presence of a considerable number of rank-and-file people (it was attended by about 2,000 delegates, including almost 300 Americans), all the burning problems of our time were discussed with the participation of statesmen, politicians and military leaders. Those present in the hall could put questions to both sides and state their opinions. And for the first time the events taking place within the walls of the offices of statesmen, in narrow political circles and which will be told to the public only later at short briefings, to become it immediately accessible to a large audience in full measure. And those present were able themselves to judge the righteousness of this side or the other.

Now that public opinion is being indoctrinated in a colossal way by all means

of the mass media, great importance is attached to such forums, open discussions and meetings at which people can receive frank answers to their difficult questions in the presence of statesmen and politicians.

Special responsibility falls on peace people as well. Now the antiwar movement has a specific programme reflecting in large measure our state's proposals on struggling not only for the solution of partial or peripheral problems in the sphere of ending the arms race, but also on the main line of advance — for making the whole world nuclear-free.

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CSO: 5200/1328

## U.S.-USSR NUCLEAR AND SPACE ARMS TALKS

### USSR: NORWEGIAN DEFENSE MINISTER PRAISES GORBACHEV JAN 1986 PLAN

Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 6, 16 Feb 87 p 14

[Interview with Johan J. Holst, Minister of Defence of Norway, by Evgeny Andrianov]

#### [Text]

Mr Holst, a year ago the Soviet Union came up with the programme for eliminating nuclear weapons towards the end of this millennium and ensuring lasting peace in a nuclear-free world. What is your view of this programme? I think the Gorbachev programme as announced on January 15 last year, as well as the follow-up of that programme in the shape of the proposals made in Reykjavik are a constructive contribution to East-West dialogue. Although constructive, this is only the first step. Both sides have to be willing and prepared to move on, to be flexible and seek an agreement. It is very important that the countries are willing and able to "walk an extra mile," as the Americans say. This willingness to make an extra effort, a little bit more than the other side, to show good faith, is very important.

I am very encouraged by the flexibility and optimism permeating new Soviet diplomacy. I think the Americans genuinely want an agreement too, so we shall be able to make some real progress.

When we talk of a stable and peaceful world we mean a world in which we shall have to deal with many problems other than armaments. We have more than our share of these problems, common to all of us and extremely acute, environment for example. Nations have to come together to try and find ways

of dealing cooperatively with common dangers threatening mankind. We live in a world in which no country can develop its economy as if it were isolated from everybody else. It is an Interdependent world, and for that very reason we have to see to it that we develop habits and behaviour which are consistent with the requirements of this objective situation and do not hang onto the institutional relics of a very different period. We have to learn to think about security in new ways.

Is the banning of all nuclear arms possible. In your opinion Do you share the view that SDI can provide one more prerequisite for a nuclear-free world?

Well, I think that's a very complicated question. The first thing I want to say is that I don't think any of us will live to see a world in which there are no weapons, or in which there are even no nuclear weapons. But I do believe that we will see substantial reductions in the number of nuclear weapons around because I think it is consonant with the interests of the major powers to agree on substantial reductions. This amassing of arms which is taking place has not produced increased security; on the contrary, arms accumulation is adding to insecurity.

I think that substantial progress was made when Gorbachev and Reagan met in Reykjavik. They went a long, albeit not the whole way towards an agreement. The Soviet and American lead-

ers started to define the issues in terms of a broader political framework, starting, so to speak, at the top and working down, rather than starting at the bottom and working all the way up. This is very important. I think details are to be handled at the next stage within the context of definite directives and instructions.

You mentioned the Strategic Defence Initiative. I don't think we ought to worry too much about specific programmes now. I think what we ought to concentrate on is to preserve the ABM treaty of 1972, and I think it is important also to prevent the arms race from moving into outer space. Hence it would seem to me that the two major powers must come to some understanding to prevent the deployment of any kinds of weapon in space which should be used for the purposes of observation, navigation and communication.

**Do you believe that the world can, in principle, be rid of nuclear weapons?**

You know, my basic philosophy is that what man has made he can unmake. Man has made nuclear weapons, so he can destroy them. He cannot invent them, though, he has to live with them. There are plenty of things man can do that he doesn't, simply because he doesn't want to. And I think what we have to move towards is a situation where man doesn't want to have nuclear weapons any longer out of conviction that they are doing him no good.

We are a long way from such a situation. But I think we have to start moving in this direction already now, not only because of the dangers inherent in Soviet-American competition but also because an increasing number of countries are becoming capable of building nuclear weapons. The only thing we can do to prevent them from spending their money and their technical resources on the arms race is to convince them that it is wasteful and costly to do so.

And another point. The world we live in is a world of great inequalities. It's a world in which we have a small group of very privileged countries which have a lot, and a very large part of mankind which has very little. And we find it increasingly difficult for the rich countries of the North to convince the poor countries of the South that nuclear weapons are only good for us rich people in spite of the fact that they offer a cheaper way to security. It is even harder for us to tell them: you don't have much of anything, surely you cannot be interested in nuclear weapons. Therefore it is necessary for the big countries of the North to try and build a world in which nuclear weapons would not play the central role they played in the first decades after the second world war.

**How do you assess the military situation on the European continent? Are there any chances of progress here?**

Two blocs are confronting each other in Europe. Each has built up a very large military machine. These machines are not congruent with the political divisions that exist in Europe today. They are in some sense relics, but they remain, although political consciousness is moving fast. The same applies to the problem of strategic weapons, I think.

We have to realize that the development of military technology is moving in a direction in which warfare assumes a much higher velocity and a much higher intensity. Fears are growing in Europe that a war may break out as a result of a very rapid offensive from the other side. Hence the instability caused by reciprocal apprehensions of the other side taking the initiative in a crisis. This is very much the kind of situation in which the world found itself in 1914. However, the current situation can be got under control by joint effort. It's time all of us realized that security can no longer be viewed as something that one country achieves at the expense of another country. It has to be achieved in common. This idea must prevail in Europe.

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## U.S.-USSR NUCLEAR AND SPACE ARMS TALKS

### FRG PAPER INSISTS ON INCLUSION OF SRINF IN INF TALKS

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German 16 Feb 87 p 12

[Article by Michael Stuermer: "Three Zero Solutions"]

[Text] All zero solutions currently negotiated between Washington and Moscow refer to that section of the nuclear arsenals described as INF: Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces. These are the Soviet missiles type SS 20 on the eastern side and the Pershing II and Cruise missiles on the western side. The question whether the Soviet short range missiles (SRINF), deployed in eastern Central Europe are to be included tends less to divide Soviets and Americans than West Europeans among themselves and, quite particularly, the parties in the Federal Republic. These high-precision missiles with a range of 500 km threaten West Germany, eastern France and the Benelux countries. Unless there are counterweights, they are apt to be used for political blackmail and psychological intimidation.

Using the simplest denominator, we may discern three zero solutions. The first was the one that, soon after the dual track resolution of 1979, turned into more of a negotiating stance of the Alliance than an objective of negotiations. Neither the West as a whole nor the Federal Government then in power could assume that more than a compromise between Eastern rearmament and Western counterarmament was likely to emerge. The nearest anyone got to that were the Geneva negotiators Nitze and Kvitsinski with their 1983 walk-in-the-woods formula. This left the Soviets with sufficient systems to aim a nuclear power projection at Western Europe. The West retained enough to tie European security to U.S. security and to expose any Red Army attack on European soil to unacceptable risks: Coupling and deterrent were linked at a low level. However, the walk in the woods ended in Washington and Moscow before reaching its goal in Geneva. The Soviets broke off negotiations at the end of 1983. They initiated the re-counterarmament by deploying the SRINF. The first zero solution--assuming it ever had a chance--was out.

The second zero solution is that which appears achievable in the current round of negotiations at Geneva and is touted as probable by the forecasters: Reduction of medium-range weapons from the Atlantic to the Urals, leaving 100 missiles each in Soviet Asia and the United States. It remains to be seen whether it will be possible to secure effective verification. Yet, this is a question that needs an answer in order to prevent nasty surprises. Even more

important is the question of the fate of short-range missiles in the GDR and Czechoslovakia. If the "devil's stuff" (so called by Honecker) is included, agreement is unlikely. If it is excluded, German security will be the loser.

This brings the third zero solution into view and with it the question of what is to happen if, following an INF agreement and the further 6 months of negotiations provided for, the Soviets were to leave the SRINF exactly where they are now. Should the Federal Republic hereafter live in a politically slanted situation, or should NATO counterarm one more time? In this regard the situation is reminiscent of that of December 1977, when Federal Chancellor Schmidt described the Soviet SS-20s as a threat to Europe and prepared the NATO dual track resolution. Should they remain in place, the Soviet short range missiles would expose the Federal Republic--the key country of Western Europe--to a unique threat. If, and unfortunately this is to be expected, subsequent negotiations were to break down, it might be possible in accordance with the treaty to deploy corresponding systems in the Federal Republic. That, however, would single out the Germans twice over--first by the threat from outside and secondly by a second counterarmament debate. Neither the Bonn government nor the U.S. administration should voluntarily submit to this dilemma.

It will therefore be imperative to clearly demonstrate the danger of the strategic slant to our West European allies and the chief U.S. negotiator. Its psychological, political and military consequences would be irreversible. Unilateral force reductions, which once again fascinate strategists and budget politicians in Washington, would speed up these consequences. Anybody wishing for detente may not forget the terminology of the Harmel report, according to which detente must be based on a secure defensive capability. It follows that short-range missiles need to be dealt with simultaneously and in parallel with INF potentials. Even in that case only residual traces will remain of the goals of counterarmament since 1977.

Will the West Europeans have the courage to nominate this a conditio sine qua non for stability and detente? It may be possible to forego it, and much indicates that this is what will happen. In that case, though, we will pay little for detente today but pay through the nose for it tomorrow when tension rises once again.

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CSO: 5200/2497

U.S.-USSR NUCLEAR AND SPACE ARMS TALKS

ITALY'S ANDREOTTI, NITZE DISCUSS ABM TREATY, DISARMAMENT

LD031724 Rome Domestic Service in Italian 0700 GMT 3 Mar 87

[Text] Reagan's special envoy for disarmament, Paul Nitze, has paid a lightning visit to Rome, during which he met with [Defense Minister] Spadolini and talked with [Foreign Minister] Andreotti about the ABM Treaty and antimissile systems. He described Gorbachev's new proposal on Euromissiles as serious, although, he pointed out, there remains much work to be done.

According to our foreign minister, it would be desirable to interpret the ABM Treaty as Reagan did in 1985, otherwise, Andreotti said, the general atmosphere of the negotiations with the USSR would become more complicated, and the negotiations must not be jeopardized in any way.

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CSO: 5200/2502

U.S.-USSR NUCLEAR AND SPACE ARMS TALKS

ITALIAN PRIME MINISTER RECEIVES MESSAGE FROM GORBACHEV

AU260938 Rome ANSA in English 0849 GMT 26 Feb 87

[Excerpt]

Rome — Europe and Italy must play an "active role" in the search for progress on disarmament as one of the problems which concern "all mankind", according to a letter sent by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to Italian Prime Minister Bettino Craxi.

In excerpts from the letter released by Craxi's office here Wednesday, Gorbachev reported that Craxi's statements in favour of "constructive" Soviet-American understandings on disarmament and his hopes for "compromise solutions" in the Soviet-American disarmament negotiations had not gone "unnoticed" in Moscow.

According to the message, the Soviet leadership has noted "Italy's real backing for this arduous task" and will seek rapprochement between the two governments' viewpoints on all questions related to the arms race "to find solutions on the path to European security, to cooperate in outlining shorter paths towards reducing conventional arms in Europe and towards a ban on chemical weapons".

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CSO: 5200/2502

U.S.-USSR NUCLEAR AND SPACE ARMS TALKS

ITALIAN CP'S NATTA, GDR'S HONECKER DISCUSS DISARMAMENT

PM181156 Milan L'UNITA in Italian 13 Feb 87 pp 1, 14

[Paolo Soldini dispatch: "Natta in Berlin: Zero Option and Fewer USSR Missiles"]

[Excerpt]

Berlin (GDR) — A journey in search of opportunities for Europe in the difficult battle for detente and disarmament. A variety of interlocutors — the GDR's SED in the past few days and Finland's and Sweden's ruling social democrats and the two countries' communists in the next few days. Yesterday Alessandro Natta, accompanied by PCI Directorate member and international relations chief Antonio Rubbi and Central Committee member Renato Sandri, ended the first leg of his visit in Berlin, the GDR capital, and leaves today for Helsinki, then Stockholm.

The highlight of the visit to the GDR — yesterday morning's meeting with Erich Honecker (a 3-hour conversation attended by the PCI's Rubbi and Sandri and the SED's Politburo and Secretariat member Hermann Axen and Central Committee International Relations Department Director Guenter Sieber) — served to define the outlines of the Italian Communists' initiative.

The PCI — this is nothing new and embraces the recent proposal of a real, more specific, and better defined "doctrine" of security in Europe — is committed to facilitating the initiative of the range of forces that make up the European left and to taking a leading role in it. In a way, the "standard" of the interlocutors during Natta's reflects this — the leaders of an aligned country like the GDR that is nevertheless, for reasons known to all, virtually bound to remain highly sensitive to the prospects of European dialogue and those of two countries that have always characterized their neutralist options not by any "opting out" of the sad reality of a continent split between two opposing blocs but by a commitment to active involvement, to facilitating the chances of another kind of coexistence based on good relations and cooperation among everyone.

Along what paths can this resumption of the European initiative be reached? The Berlin leg of the PCI secretary general's visit provided several valuable pointers. Public evidence of this came in the toasts which Honecker and Natta delivered at a working luncheon given by the SED leaders immediately after the meeting. The PCI Secretary General did point out that a major effort must be made so that "the two major powers will resume their

dialogue where it broke off" at Reykjavik and "so that this time that will find the path to understanding." But he stressed that "a major contribution to the attainment of these objectives can and must be made by all the European countries, from the neutral and nonaligned countries to those that belong to the two political and military alliances and that can take autonomous and constructive initiatives within them, without neglecting the obligations that they entail. The fact that this is necessary and possible," Natta said, "is shown by the positive conclusion of the Stockholm conference on confidence-building measures."

According to the PCI secretary general there are three fields within which European governments can act — the zero option, that is, the elimination of Euromissiles outlined in the agreement almost reached in Reykjavik; a "balanced and controlled" reduction of conventional weapons; and the "balanced reduction to the lowest possible levels" of short-range nuclear weapons, that is, the S-21's, S-22's, and S-23's that the Soviets deployed in Czechoslovakia and the GDR as "countermeasures" to the deployment of Pershing-2's in the FRG which, as is known, are one of the causes of the reservations and opposition to the zero option idea expressed by part of the western alignment.

Well, the PCI believes that a European initiative on these three issues is not only possible but necessary. And the GDR can perform a very important role, as it did — Natta recalled, with heartfelt appreciation — in the draft accords that the SED drew up with the FRG's SPD for the creation of a nuclear-free corridor in Central Europe and for a zone free of chemical weapons.

The SED's stance on these issues is more than "amenable," as reflected in initiatives that have already accumulated some history and substance (it will be enough to recall that it was Honecker himself who pointed out the possibility of a solution to the problem of short-range missiles as it emerged as a consequence of a possible Euromissiles accord.) Furthermore the joint proposal with the SPD, not to mention the work within the Vienna conference, have already demonstrated the possibility of a form of cooperation transcending the confines between the blocs and membership of two different and "enemy" military alliances. It emerged fairly clearly from Honecker's toast that the SED leaders closely link the future of detente in Europe to the future of the "small detente" between the two German states. "We are resolutely committed to normal relations with the FRG based on existing real conditions and the agreements signed." Honecker also made an explicit reference to the recent FRG elections, saying that they "showed that the majority of FRG citizens are opposed to a change in foreign policy and in favor of detente rather than contraposition, of predictability rather than adventurism." This aspect of inter-German relations was also broached in Natta's speech.

The conversation with Honecker had already revealed a similarity of viewpoints on the situation concerning East-West negotiations, with a common assessment of the threats to world peace and to the future of the Geneva negotiations, of America's plans to militarize space ("Star Wars"), and of the positive moves in this field introduced by Gorbachev's proposals.

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CSO: 5200/2502

U.S.-USSR NUCLEAR AND SPACE ARMS TALKS

ITALIAN GOVERNMENT SATISFIED WITH GORBACHEV PROPOSAL

'Greater Hope' Seen

LD022256 Rome Domestic Service in Italian 2130 GMT 2 Mar 87

[Text] This evening the Italian Foreign Ministry expressed satisfaction with Gorbachev's initiative on Euromissiles. Our country, it pointed out, has always supported the conclusion of agreements whenever possible without preconditions. The Soviet proposals seem to represent progress in this direction and give rise to greater hope for a constructive and conclusive evolution toward negotiations of great importance to create greater momentum in the disarmament process.

Foreign Ministry Comments  
AU031030 Rome ANSA in English 1017 GMT 3 Mar 87

[Text] (ANSA) Rome, March 3 — Italy's demands that arms reduction talks should be undertaken in a more pragmatic fashion whenever the occasion arises and without preconditions seem to have been answered to a great extent in Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's latest offer of an arms limitation package Italian Foreign Office sources said Monday.

The Foreign Office is satisfied with the proposals of the Soviet leader, which include the removal of intermediate-range weapons from Europe and the establishment of a limit of 100 long-rangemissiles, and sees in them the grounds for more hope of a constructive, and conclusive round of negotiations, which will lend greater impetus to the disarmament process.

Without going into details of the proposed package the Foreign Office welcomed the fact that the Soviets seem to have come round to the European point of view that an agreement on intermediate-range weapons are [as received] of great importance in reaching a balance of military power.

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CSO: 5200/2502

U.S.-USSR NUCLEAR AND SPACE ARMS TALKS

BRIEFS

NST WORKING MEETINGS IN GENEVA--Geneva 20 February TASS--Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space weapons are going on here. This week working meetings were held within the framework of groups on space weapons, strategic armaments and medium-range nuclear weapons. [Text] [Moscow TASS in English 1706 GMT 20 Feb 87 LD] /12913

CSO: 4200/1336

## INTERMEDIATE-RANGE NUCLEAR FORCES

### CANADA: ARTICLE URGES END TO CRUISE TESTING PARTICIPATION

Toronto THE GLOBE AND MAIL in English 9 Feb 87 p A7

[Article by Edward J. Babin]

[Text]

*Disarmament is the most pressing practical, moral and spiritual issue of our times... do not despair. Act. Speak Out.* — Margaret Laurence, If I Had One Hour To Live.

**L**ATE last year, U.S. President Ronald Reagan authorized the deployment of more air-launched cruise missiles (ALCMs), thereby exceeding the limits of SALT II, the only major arms-control agreement signed (although not ratified by the United States) in the past 10 years. This action is an ominous departure from commitments by the United States and the Soviet Union to comply with the treaty.

Canada, as a major proponent of arms control and ultimate disarmament, has registered its disapproval with the U.S. Administration. We have "spoken out." We have not, however, acted. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's Government has consistently refused to take any significant steps to get the message across.

In fact, we need only look to the skies of northern Alberta to see that we are directly complicit. There, in an agreement reached and implemented despite significant public protest, we allow the United States to flight-test ALCMs — the very weapons being deployed in breach of SALT II.

To back an oft-stated commitment to disarmament and de-escalation, the Canadian Government should act by immediately halting our participation in this dangerous project. As an expression of Canadian concern, deeply felt by most of the population, such action would be meaningful and highly symbolic and could probably be taken at little real cost.

Several lines of argument are advanced by proponents of Canada's role in cruise testing and, indeed, in support of developing the weapon. It is stated that Canada has consistently been deleterious in its contributions, through the North Atlantic Treaty Organization or otherwise, to the common defence of the West. Through co-operation and the provision of our Soviet-like terrain for military exercises and testing ranges, it is thought that we can fulfil previously unfulfilled commitments to our allies.

In addition, it is often argued that the relative peace in the world since the Second World War (a highly debatable point) is a result of nuclear deterrence. The cruise missile, it is argued, represents a response to destabilizing Soviet advances and is intended to enable the West to maintain a parity of destructive potential. If Canada believes in deterrence — and as a member of NATO, it surely does — participating in a project to strengthen deterrence should be considered eminently desirable.

These arguments are advanced and, it seems, accepted by significant numbers of people. Indeed, they are substantially the same as those put forward by the Canadian Government in rebuffing calls to discontinue the testing agreement. They are, however, hollow.

The air-launched cruise missile is not a weapon that has been the subject of NATO consideration or review. It is strictly a U.S. weapon, not to be based in Europe like ground-launched cruise missiles, but to be deployed on U.S. strategic bombers in furtherance of U.S. defence policy.

The cruise missile, all species of it, cannot be an effective, stabilizing element of deterrence. It is a technologically neat but highly irrational development contributing to an arms race at present out of control. Reversing this contest of development and production is widely recognized as essential to maintaining stability, the first step to disarmament and to the evolution of new, less potentially destructive systems of global security.

In this context, the deployment of the cruise missile is anathema to arms control. It is small and undetectable and, therefore, its numbers and locations cannot be effectively verified. Verification, as any Reagan Administration official will insist, is the key — or the most significant impediment — to arms control.

Because of its ability to avoid radar, the cruise's presence in the strategic forces of both superpowers will reduce real or perceived reaction times; with this reduction will come a corresponding increase in the probability of accidental, but no less destructive, nuclear war. There will be less opportunity to analyze or resolve crises. Tension will increase. Stability is lessened.

The range from which an effective strike can be carried out by U.S. bombers armed with the missiles now being tested in Canada will increase considerably. Soviet defence planners will feel compelled — continuing an all-too-familiar cycle — to respond somehow.

For all these reasons, the missiles could signal an end to hopes for effective arms control in the near future.

The present U.S. Administration seems to place little significance on this, preferring instead to concentrate on developing a defensive system, Star Wars, intended as a technological fix for what most observers consider a palpably faltering nuclear security system.

In addition to these arguments, there are the moral implications — presumably very similar to those forming the basis of Canada's stated nuclear policy — of participation in testing weapons intended, ultimately, to bring about the annihilation of millions of people. We might also question any increased participation in an arms race involving such an obscene misallocation of global resources.

It is argued that SALT II has been made meaningless and ineffective by numerous and repeated (but unspecified) Soviet violations. But these violations have not involved the vitally important numerical limits and could not reasonably be seen, unlike the present U.S. action, as constituting a repudiation of the treaty.

And to those who would argue that Canada could face economic problems if tension were increased with the United States by terminating the cruise-testing agreement, several responses come to mind quickly. The Mulroney Government has made this kind of appeasement a major part of its approach to economic relations with the Americans. We have all seen how successful it has been. Also, the U.S. Congress is unlikely to be inclined to express significant displeasure for a Canadian policy very similar to that espoused by Congress's controlling party.

If we believe in arms control, as we must, we cannot but view its latest renunciation as deplorable. For too long, we have only occasionally spoken out, refusing to act, allowing the unacceptable to continue, in this case partly on our own soil. In a world of sometimes abominable complexity, we have an opportunity to make a significant statement with a relatively simple action. Canada should exercise its independence and sovereignty by refusing to participate in a project that so clearly threatens global security.

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CSO: 5220/31

CHEMICAL/BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS

ADELMAN ARTICLES ON CHEMICAL WEAPONS SCORED

PM161439 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Feb 87 First Edition p 3

[M. Ponomarev "International Remarks"; "Loop"]

[Text] The little word "to be in a loop" has come into use relatively recently and therefore has still not entered Russian language dictionaries. But its sense is understood by everybody. To be in a loop--this means marking time, passing on stale news, and rehashing the past. And, of course, there is nothing good in that.

However, when it occurs in the private life of individual citizens, then this is still not a particular misfortune. An unpleasant episode for those associated with the individual and nothing more. But when such a thing happens to an official figure, especially one occupying a high and responsible post, then this is a misfortune. And a considerable one.

As far as the author of these remarks can judge, just such a misfortune befell Kenneth Adelman--the same Adelman who, as the director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, occupies far from the lowest position in the Wasginton hierarchy. Most probably, it did not happen of its own accord but was brought about by Mr Director himself with quite a particular aim.

What caused Ken, as the head of the White House himself familiarly calls him, to get inot a loop? The short answer is, without doubt, anti-Sovietism. Yes, yes, anti-Sovietism, most trivial and so dear to the hearts of overseas politicians.

It is the easiest thing in the world to be convinced of this. It is enough to check just two of his articles devoted to the problem of chemical weapons. Both are in the front of me. One was published in August last year in THE NEW YORK TIMES. The other was in the London weekly JANE'S DEFENCE WEEKLY which came out about 10 days ago.

In both articles it says that an "all-embracing, effectively verifiable and global ban on any chemical weapons" is the U.S. Administration's "priority task." Well said, it would seem. Only on checking it turns out that this is sheer hypocrisy and cant. Because it is subsequently confirmed in the two articles:

Stocks of U.S. chemical weapons have become obsolete, their quality does not stand up to criticism, and therefore, "our efforts must include implementing plans to modernize our limited arsenal."

The crocodile tears shed by Mr Director concerning the "limited arsenal" are a matter for his won conscience (although it is well known that it includes 3 million units of ammunition crammed with 150 thousand metric tons of poisonous substances and is soon to be handsomely supplemented with the latest binary chemical shells). It is more important to see what these tears are being shed for. And it turns out, in order "to have reliable means of deterrence in the event of a chemical attack on U.S. and allied forces."

And just who is intending to attack the defenseless United States? The "godless Soviet Union," of course. And here Adelman knows no bounds. The USSR's chemical potential is unsurpassed, its allies have already used chemical weapons, and the USSR itselsf has tested them in Afghanistan.... In a work, the farther Ken goes on his favorite anti-Soviet hobbyhorse the more he makes a mess of things. And it is as though it never occurred to him that all this slander has been refuted many times, shaming its disseminators. It did indeed get the man into a loop situation, and he is no longer able to stop.

There is one more factor worthy of note in Adelman's writings. As if suddenly remembering that he was the director of the Arms Control Agency, in his latter article Adelman recalls the Disarmament Conference in Geneva. As is well known, a convention on the complete prohibition of chemical weapons, the destruction of stockpiles thereof, and the liquidation of industrial capacities for their production are bieng discussed within the framework of this conference. It is universally recognized that significant progress has been made during the discussion. This is primarily linked with the Soviet position which is consistently in favor of the elimination of the barbaric mass destruction weapon. Not even Adelman can deny this. But in his characteristic style he does a logical somersault: In order to disarm one must first of all arm oneself to the teeth. For otherwise the Soviets will allegedly have no incentive to reach an agreement.

All these capers would simply be absurd if it was a matter of something less vital and dangerous than the fate of chemical weapons, or more precisely--the fate of mankind. And if it had only got Adelman into a loop. But in this instance he is only stating the views and position of his boss. The one who simply calls him Ken.

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CSO: 5200/1331

EUROPEAN CONFERENCES

IZVESTIYA: U.S. BREACHES CDE ACCORDS ON OBSERVERS AT MANEUVERS

PM061141 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Feb 87 Morning Edition p 4

[S. Guk "Rejoinder": "Going Its Own Way..."]

[Text] The United States is holding its latest military maneuvers--"Caravan Guard"--on FRG territory. The date on which they were to be held was kept secret until the last minute--an unambiguous violation of the accords reached at the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe.

And that is not all: The Americans refused to invite observers from the socialist countries to the maneuvers--a second attempt to wriggle out of the commitments stemming from the decisions of the same conference, which stated in black and white that foreign observers were not only to be informed of but invited to maneuvers involving over 17,000 men. Some 23,000 soldiers are involved in the "Caravan Guard" exercises.

Representatives of the U.S. command refer to the fact that the decision to hold the maneuvers was taken in September before the Stockholm Conference had ended, and therefore, they claim, it does not come under the new accords. This is deliberate disinformation. The accords came into force on 1 January this year and since then have been applied to all military exercises with the participation of more than 17,000 men, irrespective of when they were planned.

By all accounts, the magazine DER SPIEGEL (FRG) which published the report, sums up, the U.S. Administration is not taking the recently signed Stockholm accords seriously. And, we would add, not only these commitments. A fashionable tactic in the Washington administration recently has been to "take the strawberries out of the jam"--to extract from international treaties and agreements only what suits the United States and treat the rest as scraps of paper. U.S. observers are always permitted to visit foreign exercises, but when the United States holds its own exercises--push off, no outsiders.

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CSO: 5200/1292

## EUROPEAN CONFERENCES

### SOVIET CSCE DELEGATES COMMENT ON ARMS REDUCTIONS

#### NATO Position Criticized

LD081740 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 8 Feb 87

[Text] Discussions continue at the Vienna meeting of representatives of the states participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Comrade Kashlev, ambassador at large and leader of the Soviet delegation, talked to our correspondent in Vienna about their progress:

[Kashlev] One of the most important questions now in this second stage of the Vienna meeting is the discussion of disarmament issues, meaning armed forces and conventional armaments. The socialist countries have a very clear position and a very clear platform. It was put forward at the conference of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee in June last year in Budapest. There, the socialist countries put forward a concrete and well considered program for reducing armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe which envisaged a reduction in the armed forces of each side by approximately half a million officers and men each over several years--thus reducing the armies facing each other by a million by the beginning of the 1990's. Unfortunately, for 6 months the NATO countries gave no reply to this Budapest appeal, and then in December they published the so-called Brussels Declaration. In it they avoid words like disarmament, they talk of an imbalance in armed forces and they propose new talks outside the framework of the all-European process--not even talks, but consultations about future talks. These questions are now going to rise to the surface during the coming sessions and they will be under active discussion here. We would like this Budapest program to be discussed by all 35 participants in the all-European conference and not just by this group of NATO and Warsaw Pact countries. We consider that all the people who live in Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals, have an interest in disarmament issues.

#### Importance of 'Real' Reductions

LD111639 Moscow TASS in English 1617 GMT 11 Feb 87

[Text] Vienna February 11 TASS--The strengthening of security and the transition to reduction of armed forces and armaments in Europe is one of the main directions of the European process, said member of the USSR delegation, Major General Viktor Tatarnikov.

He spoke today at a plenary sitting of the Vienna meeting of representatives of the countries participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. This task is ever more topical, since Europe has the highest concentration of military might in the world, he said. Huge numbers of military installations, of the most up-to-date weapons, numerous U.S. military bases are situated in Europe and in adjacent sea and ocean expanses.

It is only through real reduction of armed forces and armaments in Europe that the level of military confrontation can be lowered and a tense military-political situation can be eased. All these matters, just as new confidence-building measures in the military sphere could be tackled in earnest at the next stage of the Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe. Other important questions, such as notification about autonomous air force and naval exercises, restriction of the scopes of military exercises, the spreading of confidence-building measures to the territories of all participating countries should also be decided there.

The Vienna meeting of countries participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe has a right to adopt a decision on supplementing the mandate of the Stockholm Conference so that it should deal also with measures of actual disarmament. The Soviet representative noted that the ball is in the court of NATO countries now. They have not yet submitted any concrete proposal on the problem of European disarmament at the Vienna forum.

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CSO: 5200/1292

EUROPEAN CONFERENCES

IZVESTIYA'S YEFIMOV DISCUSSES EUROPEAN ARMS LEVELS

PM061129 Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 2 Feb 87 p 9

[Article by IZVESTIYA deputy chief editor Nikolay Yefimov: "What Has Happened to the Response?"]

[Text] London and Bonn have expressed their anxieties about disarmament. They have also voiced their fears that Western Europe will be left standing defenseless in the face of a strong Soviet army if nuclear arms are destroyed. Is this something the Russians can understand?

Of course they can understand the anxieties of others. But it is not only the West Europeans who think that they have reason to be anxious--the Russians do too. And the more you think about what is said officially in London or Bonn, the more you wonder about what really lies behind these words--is it real concern or is it an excuse to avoid the problem of disarmament? It is thus and only thus that the question can be framed. For it is difficult for us to forget how for many years the West harped on about one and the same theme in all negotiations and in its propaganda: If the Soviet Union agreed to a "zero option," there would be no Pershing missiles, nor would there be any SS-20's on our continent. But what happens? As soon as the Soviet Union included the "zero option" in its package in Reykjavik the Western capitals became greatly agitated.

Since Reykjavik it has been asserted particularly forcefully that it is precisely nuclear arms that we have to thank for the fact that a war between East and West has not broken out. Yes, peace has reigned for 40 years. But how many times in the course of these 40 years has the world been on the verge of war? In the period 1977-1984 alone the U.S. early warning system registered 20,784 false alarms of missile attacks on the United States. Would it not be more correct to say that chance has spared us catastrophe? "Nuclear deterrence" is leading us into a blind alley, creates fear and suspicion, and adds fuel to the arms race, because neither side wants to fall behind. In the age of the scientific and technical revolution relying on "nuclear deterrence" is the same as investing in the endless further development of nuclear arms and a never-ending arms race.

In such a situation it is no good thinking and acting in the old way. New thinking is necessary if mankind is to be able to survive. Both generals

and politicians have always prepared themselves for the wars they have behind them. But it is impossible to prepare yourself for nuclear war--it must simply be prevented. And there is only one road that leads in this direction--that we destroy the means of waging such a war.

What would happen to Western Europe if nuclear arms finally disappeared from arms arsenals? This problem is only one side of the matter. But there is also another side. For will not the tension between East and West lead to a bloody war involving the use of conventional weapons? For a country which in the last war lost 20 million human lives this is by no means merely a theoretical problem. And even less because modern conventional weapons are no longer "conventional" like older weapons were but can actually be compared with weapons of mass destruction in their potential.

I will repeat that we can understand that others are worried. But in June last year the Warsaw Pact countries at their meeting in Budapest directed a proposal to the NATO nations and all other European countries that we should underpin the destruction of nuclear arms with an all-round drastic reduction in armed forces and conventional arms. This is a concrete and detailed proposal which applies to the whole of European territory, from the Atlantic to the Urals. Before the start of the 1990's both alliances could reduce their land combat forces and their tactical air forces by one-quarter or 500,000 men on each side. The arms and the other combat equipment should be either destroyed or stockpiled under strict international controls, with the involvement not only of representatives of the countries in NATO and the Warsaw Pact, but also of representatives of the neutral and nonaligned countries.

And what was the West's reaction? From last June to today there has been no response to these proposals. Do the NATO governments not agree perhaps on some detail or other? Is a one-quarter reduction too little? Are the controls too strict or perhaps not strict enough? Or is it something else? Let us talk about it then. And especially because the countries of the Warsaw Pact have stressed that they will not lay down any sort of preconditions before the start of such concrete talks.

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CSO: 5200/1292

## NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

### USSR ANNOUNCES RESUMPTION OF NUCLEAR TESTING

Gorbachev Warns U.S.

LD202029 Moscow World Service in English 1900 GMT 20 Feb 87

[Text] The Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, has declared that the Soviet Union intends to use every chance to the very last one to make the United States renounce nuclear testing. He told this to people in Estonia where he is now staying in the course of his tour of Soviet Baltic republics. Many of the questions he was asked were related to foreign policy. Mikhail Gorbachev said that the Soviet Union was not conducting nuclear tests though it was forced to cancel its unilateral moratorium, as it had declared, after the first American explosion this year. Since the start of this year the United States has conducted two more blasts but, Mikhail Gorbachev warned, there are limits that cannot be crossed. If the United States doesn't join us the Soviet Union will act. We'll tell you, Mikhail Gorbachev, when this is going to happen. [sentence as heard] He stressed that the Soviet Union could not sacrifice its defense. He said the American military-industrial complex was interested in the arms race because it was making giant profits from it. The United States has always been the initiator of the arms race. The USSR cannot afford to lag behind and the Soviet people can be reassured with regard to the country's defense, but the task of the Soviet Union is to foil the arms race and an active Soviet foreign policy is directed at this.

The Soviet leader said that the renewal started in the country for accelerating its social and economic development was noticed in the West. The West would want to economically bleed the Soviet Union with the arms race, prevent it from advancing its economy, and foil the changes. I don't think they will succeed in this, Mikhail Gorbachev said. The entire nation favors renovation, the Soviet leader said, and this gives us confidence to continue what we have started.

Semipalatinsk Test 26 February

LD260902 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 26 Feb 87

[Text] The Soviet Union carried out an underground nuclear explosion with a yield of up to 20 kilotons at the testing site in the region of Semipalatinsk at 0800 Moscow time this morning. The aim of the explosion was to check the results of research in the physics of nuclear explosions.

It's a known fact that the Soviet Union advocates a total ban on nuclear testing. To promote this it observed a unilateral moratorium for more than a year and a half, yet the United States refused to join it. It conducted 26 explosions during the period. Last December the Soviet Government said that in view of the negative stand of the United States the moratorium would remain effective until the first American nuclear explosion in 1987. The United States has already carried out two explosions since the beginning of the year. The Soviet Union, as it announced earlier, is ready to resume the moratorium at any time if the United States agrees to join it.

Defense Spokesman Comments

LD260916 Moscow TASS in English 0904 GMT 26 Feb 87

[Text] Moscow February 26 TASS -- The Soviet Union today had to explode its first nuclear device in 18 months, a spokesman for the USSR Defense Ministry said here.

Speaking at a briefing for Soviet and foreign correspondents, Major-General Gely Batenin added that the step could not have come as a surprise to anybody because the Soviet Union had declared openly way back on December 18 last year that it would not be able to observe unilateral restraint in that matter for ever.

"It is most regrettable that the incumbent U.S. Administration, on which it depended whether our moratorium would be extended and become bilateral, has found it possible to press on with its nuclear testing program and already carried out two nuclear blasts this year in utter disregard for the will of the international public," he said.

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CSO: 5200/1304

## NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

USSR: COMMENTARY ON 11 FEBRUARY NEVADA TEST

'Irresponsible' Test

LD121334 Moscow TASS in English 1258 GMT 12 Feb 87

[Text] Moscow February 12 TASS -- TASS news analyst Yuriy Kornilov writes:

An international forum for a nuclear-free world, for the survival of humanity is to open in Moscow on February 14 in the presence of over 850 noted scientists, political and public figures and cultural personalities from many countries of the world. With this forum approaching, a report comes in from the USA that a new nuclear explosion has been staged in Nevada state. How should one react to this news? The explosion timed to coincide with the Moscow forum is an open challenge to world public opinion, one more blow to the hopes of the peoples, including the people of America, for delivering this planet from nuclear armaments.

That is what Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, said to me today. It is hard not to agree with his opinion. The nuclear explosion at the Nevada test site, the 26th one in the last eighteen months, is not only a challenge to the world public but also fresh evidence of the fact that the metastasis of militarism is increasingly eroding the mechanism intended for planning and implementing Washington's foreign policy.

Proofs are not far to seek. This is Washington's intensive preparations for "Star Wars" with emphasis on the development of a number of SDI components and testing them in space already in the coming few years; Washington's plans to spend over 12 billion in the next decade on the production of chemical weapons including binary munitions, although it is known from the American press that already at this stage the Pentagon has at its disposal 3 million units of chemical munitions; and the fact that the United States is sabre-rattling in the eastern Mediterranean, in the Persian Gulf area, is working up tensions in Central America and raising obstacles to national reconciliation in Afghanistan....

One cannot fail to note that the militaristic slant of U.S. foreign policy and increased hegemonic tendencies in it are taking place at a time when an unprecedented political scandal, known as "Irangate," is growing in Washington. Is it a chance coincidence? Hardly so. Perhaps those at the helm of the federal ship in the USA hope with the help of arrogant militarist actions and aggressive foreign policy ventures to cement, or at least conceal from public eyes, the leak in the bottom of this vessel? This was or other, the 26th explosion in Nevada is evidence of an

irresponsible and dangerous policy which gives the Soviet and world public cause for growing anger and concern.

#### Petrosyants: Another Challenge

LD122029 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 12 Feb 87

[Text] In the press center of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs today, a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists was held on current policy issues.

It was stressed that the second nuclear explosion carried out this year in Nevada was yet another challenge to humanity by the U.S. Administration. It is noted the explosion appears to have been timed to coincide with the opening in Moscow of the international forum "For a Nuclear-free World and for the Survival of Humanity."

The briefing was addressed by Petrosyants, leader of the Soviet delegation at the Geneva Soviet-U.S. experts' talks on questions of ending nuclear weapons tests and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Utilization of Atomic Energy.

Having described the situation at the talks as complicated and difficult, he dwelt on the basic reasons for the disagreements. Information was given on the fact that a process of reviewing a number of matters, especially matters relating to Article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code on Anti-Soviet Agitation and Propaganda is under way in the Soviet Union. Many who have been sentenced in accordance with this article have appealed for pardon. These appeals are being considered and are being granted by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. So far, about 140 people have been pardoned.

A commission, comprising representatives of various departments and of the public, is studying the possibilities of reviewing the text of the basic principles of RSFSR criminal legislation and of the RSFSR criminal code with the aim of relaxing them.

Answers were given to questions from journalists.

#### Norwegian Physician Protests

PM131101 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 12 Feb 87 p 5

[Own correspondent V. Trotskiy dispatch: "Anger and Indignation"]

[Excerpt] Oslo---Anger and indignation is how one can briefly describe the reaction of the broad Norwegian public to the United States' continuation of nuclear tests. The following interview is confirmation of the protest and indignation with which the U.S. refusal to follow our country's example and end nuclear weapons tests is being received here.

Dr. Sorbye, leader of the Norwegian section of the influential international movement Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, said:

"I just returned from a demonstration we held at the American Embassy building in Oslo. The aim was to express our resolute protest against the continuation of nuclear tests at the Nevada test site. On our organization's behalf we

handed over to the American ambassador a letter demanding that President Reagan immediately end nuclear explosions and reach agreement with the USSR on a complete nuclear test ban."

BBC Reporting Hit

OW130047 Moscow in Mandarin to China 1600 GMT 12 Feb 87

[Text] Despite world public protests, the United States has conducted its second nuclear explosion this year at the Nevada test site.

Moscow Radio, which was one of the very first radio stations to report this militarist step of the U.S. Government, considers this step a pre-emptory provocation against the Soviet Union and the world community as a whole.

In its newscast, Moscow Radio reflected the Soviet warning: The Soviet Union will observe the moratorium on nuclear explosions until the United States conducts its first nuclear explosion in 1987. The BBC has wantonly distorted this explicitly stated stand on stopping nuclear tests.

After reporting foreign countries' correct reports on our response to the new U.S. nuclear explosion, namely, after Moscow Radio criticized the United States' wanton attack [man heng di gong ji] against the USSR and the world community, BBC proceeded to lie by saying: Regardless of the U.S. test, the Soviet Union will continue its moratorium on nuclear tests but is beginning to lose patience.

Moscow Radio has never said such a thing.

While trying vainly to report facts and statements objectively, BBC has also engaged in fabrications, or, to be more exact, provocations. Regrettably, this is not the first time.

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CSO: 5200/1304

## NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

### MOSCOW WEEKLY: REAGAN SUBMITS THRESHOLD TREATIES TO CONGRESS

Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 5, 8-15 Feb 87 p 5

[Article by MOSCOW NEWS military analyst Lt Gen Viktor Pavlov: "Threshold Treaties Submitted to Congress"]

#### [Text]

THE WHITE HOUSE submitted the Soviet-American 1974 and 1976 threshold treaties to Congress for ratification. The first treaty bans underground testing of nuclear weapons of more than 150 kilotons (as regards other tests, the treaty severely limits their number). The second one bans underground nuclear tests for peaceful purposes: single blasts of more than 150 kt and multiple ones of more than 1,500 kt total yield (the yield of each such explosion cannot be above 150 kt).

Signed more than ten years ago, the treaties have still not come into effect, because the US has refused to ratify them, claiming alleged verification difficulties.

Washington is clearly not desperate about a full ban on testing. The US president seems to have forgotten his words about adherence to the idea of a nuclear-free world and his agreeing in Reykjavik to promote the realization of this idea. Now he is once again saying that security of the US and the entire West today and in the near future hinges on preserving an effective and reliable nuclear potential.

Therefore, going on with the testing, Washington not only checks on the reliability of its nuclear weapons (an unnecessary procedure) but also develops conceptually new kinds and types of nuclear weapons, and creates space-based offensive weapons under the SDI programme.

The question is: If the US is generally against imposing any strictures on nuclear testing, why then has the president handed the 1974 and 1976 treaties over for ratification? The reason is that for more than eighteen months Washington has been under mounting pressure from the world and American public who have been urging the US to join the Soviet moratorium.

The moratorium is favoured also by

a considerable part of the US Congress. Last September, they tabled a draft amendment banning tests of all nuclear devices with more than one kiloton yield. Cashing in on the fact that the amendment was tabled on the eve of the Reykjavik meeting, the US president insisted on withdrawing it under the pretext that, were it passed, the fact could be construed as weakness on the part of the American side. At the same time he promised to make ratification of the threshold treaties his priority during the next session of Congress.

Having handed over to Congress its message on the 1974 and the 1976 treaties, the administration is out to kill two birds with one stone.

First, the White House intends to divert attention away from its clearly negative stand on a nuclear testing moratorium, and to justify its plans for continued tests. The next one is scheduled for this February 5.

Second, the administration makes ratification conditional on reaching a new agreement with the USSR on improved verification procedures. The president is most emphatic that the Senate's resolution should be worded no differently than this: The US president will not have the Treaty on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapons Tests and the Treaty on Underground Nuclear Explosions for Peaceful Purposes ratified unless he assures the Senate that the USSR has concluded with the USA additional agreements on increasing the scope of commitments contained in Article 2 of the Treaty on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapons Tests with the inclusion of provisions on direct and precise measurements of yields to be taken at the sites of all corresponding explosions..., and unless the Senate recommends them for ratification and gives its consent to do that.

Hence the conclusion: the White House, far from bringing the world closer to stopping nuclear tests, is tossing more obstacles in the path of this goal.

Having made his "peaceable step", the president has in fact invited the Senate to share his view that a full ban on nuclear arms testing should be considered as a sort of a long-term task which cannot be solved as long as the US continues to rely on nuclear weapons.

As for the USSR, it regards ratification of the 1974 and 1976 treaties as part of the process leading to a complete and final ban of nuclear weapons tests. The treaties, however, cannot stop the arms race, as the arms race cannot be stopped by other restrictions on underground nuclear tests.

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CSO: 5200/1304

## NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

### PRAVDA CITES GROWING U.S. OPPOSITION TO NUCLEAR TESTS

PM161233 Moscow PRAVDA In Russian 9 Feb 87 Second Edition p 7

[Dispatch By V. Gan under the rubric "Echo of the West": "Today is a Sad Day"]

[Text] Washington, 8 February--...Once again, for the umpteenth time in the past 18 months, the television screen shows a bird's-eye view of the Nevada test site. The camera focuses on its center, where two lines intersect, like the cross-hairs of a gunsight. A voice is conducting the countdown... Three, two, one, zero! The strident voice assaults the ear, the earth goes into a sudden paroxysm and then settles again....

It was a video recording of a previous explosion. Last Tuesday no one was expecting the latest, "watershed" explosion, as it has often been called here. It was held 2 days earlier than planned, evidently in the belief that it would be easier to take the heat out of the mounting protests among the public and in congress. A week earlier members of the antinuclear movement had staged demonstrations at the Nevada test site and outside the Department of Energy building in Washington which were a kind of "dress rehearsal." A letter signed by 50 congressmen had already gone from the House of Representatives to the White House demanding that the planned explosion be called off and describing it as a "terribel mistake." After all, it would mean that the United States was taking a step leading to the termination of the USSR's unprecedented moratorium.

Washington is often called a "city of political cynics" who have a collection of pat responses for all eventualities. When in August 1985 the Soviet Union announced its termination of nuclear tests and urged the United States to do the same in the interests of slowing down the arms race, the latter dismissed it as "propaganda." Then came the extensions of the moratorium, and on the second or third occasion that argument simply melted away in the silence of the Soviet test sites. It "did not work" any more, causing considerable vexation. Logic and common sense were on the side of the moratorium: If you want to expose the propaganda gesture, join it and all will become clear. But Washington did not have the guts for that. So they kicked the matter around at high level and plumped for the "standard," as White House spokesman Dan Howard put it, reaction to the moratorium: "As we have said before, as long as nuclear armaments are the main part of our deterrent force we must carry out tests." That's it, period. Or rather, a blank wall, filled with arrogant disregard for demands, appeals, and entreaties. Only a few of the president's entourage according

to the journalist E. Goodman, "acknowledge the cold truth--the administration is opposed to a total ban on explosions because it actively wants new armaments."

This admission is not exactly revealing. During the 18 months of the Soviet moratorium Washington's insatiable desire for new weapons on land, under the sea, and out in space has been quite evident. Throughout this period it has been obstinately burying in the galleries of the Nevada test site the opportunities opened up by the Soviet moratorium and the SALT II Treaty and the prospects of solving the biggest problem of all--the elimination of the threat of the self-destruction of life on earth. The only purpose of the White House's peace-loving rhetoric was to obscure and distort the nature of the problem. The situation essentially remained the same: Thundering explosions cold-bloodedly destroying the hopes and aspirations of people of all nationalities and races.

Many Americans appreciated the Soviet statement on the observance of the voluntary moratorium until the first U.S. explosion in 1987. Such a powerful movement developed throughout the country that one can say, without fear of error, that never before in recent years has there been a bigger catalyst of public antiwar protests than the Soviet Moratorium.

So on 3 February at 1020 hours Washington time the "political cynics" decided to confront the world with the possibility of the disturbance of the silence at the Soviet test sites. "Yes, we have conducted a small underground nuclear explosion, codenames 'Hazebrook.' There is a Belgian cheese of that name," the genial Jim Boyer, spokesman for the Energy Department at the site, said in response to my question. "Why cheese?" "Well, it was agreed that one laboratory would name its tests after settlements in New Mexico, while the other chose the names of cheeses (the reference is to the two main nuclear weapons development centers in Livermore and Los Alamos). When they run out of cheeses they will think of something else..." Boyer said, presenting, in a humorous way, the prospect of endless tests.

On that day many Washingtonians were not in a joking mood, as a survey of public organizations readily revealed. "The administration has demonstrated that it is more interested in developing new weapons than in halting the arms race" (League of Concerned Scientists). "We condemn tests as a historical tragedy, as sabotage of a unique opportunity for the cause of peace provided by the Soviet moratorium" (Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy). "We are very disappointed and we want the Soviet people to know that there are people in our country who are seeking to halt nuclear explosions and the arms race" (National Campaign for a Nuclear Arms Freeze).

Immediately after the news from Nevada reached the capital there was an explosion of anger on Capital Hill. "If we really want to stop the arms race, which is draining our economy dry, and to remove the threat of a nuclear catastrophe we must say 'Stop' to the president," Congressman (P. Defazio) said in the House. "From Eisenhower's presidency to Carter's presidency there were 20 separate arms control agreements. Under President Reagan there has not been one. The supreme opportunity for control [kontrol] occurred in August 1985, but today is a sad day," P. Schroeder noted....

Unfortunately not everyone everywhere thinks like that. The nuclear explosions have also been applauded on Capital Hill. Applause has come in particular from room number 2342 in the House of Representatives' "Rayburn Office Building," occupied by G. Solomon, a Republican from New York State. In reply to Soviet journalists' questions the congressman said: "Just because the Soviet Union has not conducted any nuclear tests for 18 months we cannot put ourselves in a situation where we are behind. Anyway, I am not very sure that the USSR has refrained from testing." He continues with hypocritical arguments about "terrible nuclear weapons" which must be eradicated with the aid of the ... "Star Wars" program.

...On Thursday, the day "Hazebrook" was originally planned for, 2,000 people assembled at the Nevada test site--the biggest protest demonstration in its history. They included seven U.S. congressmen, lawyers, artists, and those ordinary Americans whose consciences and understandable anxiety for their lives prevented them from sitting at home. Anxiety for life worldwide.

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CSO: 5200/1332

## NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

### MOSCOW HITS UK FOREIGN OFFICE REACTION TO USSR NUCLEAR TEST

PM021641 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Feb 87 First Edition p 5

[Political observer Yu. Kornilov article under the rubric "TASS" Commentary for KRASNAYA ZVEZDA": "Crude Work"]

[Text] "You can tell a carpenter by his shavings"--so runs an old English saying. It is no secret what the "carpenters" of the British Foreign Office are like: On practically all questions concerning cardinal problems of disarmament they simply bring up the rear of the American foreign policy column. Of course, the propaganda "shavings" produced deep within the Foreign Office are also of corresponding quality. News agencies were still only carrying the report of an explosion of a nuclear device in the USSR, but on the banks of the Thames a "top-priority" commentary was already being cooked up: Aha, they have carried out an explosion! Thus, the entire Soviet moratorium was nothing but propaganda....

You read this Foreign Office statement disseminated through REUTER channels and you wonder: Just who was this cheap trick designed for? The whole world knows that silence reigned at Soviet test sites for more than 18 months and that for more than 18 months the USSR repeatedly urged the United States to follow its example, trying persistently to convince Washington that an end to tests of nuclear devices would be a real and weighty step on the way to curbing the arms race and to a nuclear-free world. This consistent and constructive position of our country was and is supported by the overwhelming majority of UN states, the Nonaligned Movement, the leaders of the "Delhi Six," and the very broad public.

Another thing is also well known: The more strongly the call to end nuclear explosions resounded in the world, the more openly and brazenly those circles in Washington on which the extension of the Soviet moratorium and its conversion into a bilateral moratorium depended ignored that call. R. Reagan's administration responded to the USSR's peace initiative with 26--I repeat, 26--explosions at Nevada test sites. Our country repeatedly declared that it could not display unilateral restraint ad infinitum. And it was precisely Washington's irresponsible, militarist policy that confronted us with the need to end the unilateral moratorium. Why, then, did the British Foreign Office "forget" all that?

The method to which these gentlemen are now resorting is not in itself new but has been borrowed from Washington's propaganda arsenal: For some time ago

it became a kind of fashion there to straight off, as it were, describe as "propaganda" any proposals and initiatives aimed at ending the arms race. But this question occurs to every sober-minded person: If these initiatives are "propaganda," why should the other side not respond in like manner? Why, for example, should Washington with London's support not give its consent to ending all nuclear tests? For Moscow has officially announced that our country is abandoning the resolute struggle for their total cessation. On the contrary, today, just as yesterday, we advocate just such a solution to the question, and the door remains open for talks....

But the gentlemen of the British Foreign Office keep quiet, they keep quiet about all this! As can be seen, they are not alarmed by the problem of curbing the arms race--they are only concerned about "playing up" to Washington as smartly and cunningly as possible, while at the same time trying to cast aspersions on the USSR's peace-loving policy. Crude work, an unsightly stance....

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CSO: 5200/1332

NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

FIJI PAPER CRITICIZES U.S. STANCE ON NUCLEAR FREE ZONE TREATY

Suva THE FIJI TIMES in English 7 Feb 87 p 6

[Cartoon]



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CSO: 5200/4305

## RELATED ISSUES

### GORBACHEV ADDRESSES 18TH AUCCTU CONGRESS

LD251836 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0701 GMT 25 Feb 87

[Speech by CPSU General Secretary Gorbachev to the 18th AUCCTU Congress at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow--live]

[Excerpt] Now to international affairs, since enough has been said lately on this account, I hope. Such issues are directly linked to the course of our domestic development. These affairs take much effort while the world situation, as you are aware, has remained complex over the past years. What is most essential is that imperialism and reactionary forces are doing their utmost to hinder, come what may, our onward development and to compel us to remain on the tracks of military confrontation.

The 27th congress emphasized that the party saw its principal internationalist duty in leading the country successfully on along the trail blazed by the October Revolution. Such is the strict criterion by which we ought to measure each step; such is the viewpoint from which we should assess the tasks that are being advanced and the choice of policy, both inside the country and in the international arena.

The words reorganization [perestroika] and openness [glasnost] are viewed everywhere abroad, especially since the January meeting of the Central Committee, as synonymous with progress and peace. Naturally, some -- our allies, friends, and democratically minded people -- are following with hope, confidence, and great expectations the changes in our society, the style and atmosphere of our everyday life. Others -- political and ideological opponents -- are watching these processes not without certain apprehensions and at times even hostility.

Characteristically, despite these differences, the main thing has been correctly noticed abroad: The new way of thinking that the party has set out as the basis of its policy is the CPSU's response to the challenge of the time, a challenge calling for a fundamentally new approach to the tasks that have come before mankind at the end of the second millennium. There are, in fact, two fundamental tasks, that of saving the world from nuclear catastrophe and that of placing at man's service in immense potential of knowledge, and material and spiritual possibilities he possesses.

They are, indeed, immense, urgent, and closely interrelated. The party, in working out its strategy for acceleration and reorganization, has set an example by approaching them from humanist Marxist-Leninist positions.

The Soviet proposals aimed at eliminating weapons of mass destruction and establishing a comprehensive security system have evoked a special response. Some of them are

already working -- they have become the subject of dialogues and negotiations, both bilateral and multilateral. Properly speaking, we have tried to give an impetus to the reorganization of interstate relations as well as to bring them into alignment with the real tasks and requirements of our times. As a result, international life has become more dynamic, and the tendencies toward the search for forms and means of deepening political, economic, scientific, technical, and cultural cooperation have grown stronger.

True, sometimes we can hear such an opinion: All this is correct, we do support the party's foreign policy, but the world is still an intranquil place: The arms race goes on and on, the nuclear threat remains a reality, and American imperialism is not only unwilling to disarm, but is also building up its offensive capability. Such an assessment of the situation is, on the whole, correct, but I believe it is still incomplete. Yes, the situation on the international scene is dangerous; the Soviet-American negotiations on nuclear arms limitation are making no headway through the fault of the U.S. rulers and acute conflicts in various regions of this planet are fraught with grave complications.

One should not disregard another aspect either. A dramatic change in the very atmosphere of international relations, in public sentiment, in the attitude of both ordinary people and many statesmen on the principal question of today -- the question of war or peace -- has made itself felt and is becoming every more pronounced.

This has been manifestly confirmed by the Moscow forum "For a Nuclear-Free World, For the Survival of Humanity." It was a very representative meeting of authoritative scientists, writers, artists, musicians, businessmen, public, and religious figures from very many countries, a meeting of people who are mostly far from a socialist world outlook and even people who hold conservative views on major political and social issues. It is also a fact, and quite meaningful.

However, the people were brought together by one conviction: Only affirmation of a new mode of thinking in international relations can prevent nuclear war, can make peace not only possible but inevitable.

The forum has been an important event in international life, and I would say a barometer of the sentiment of world public opinion. And the needle of that barometer is pointing firmly and plainly to peace.

There have been debates, heated ones too, as to how to proceed in that direction, how to resolve certain problems and substantial differences in approach that have cropped up. Well, debates, criticism, and comparison of views are all quite natural and the surest road to truth. And the truth, the need to avert a catastrophe, to survive and to learn how to live in a manner befitting human beings, has never, as far as I know, been called into question by any of the participants in the Moscow meeting.

It seems to me that the forum's results demonstrate that a new, very broad, heterogeneous, and yet momentous movement -- the movement for the survival of humanity -- is taking shape in the world. This is a favorable sign. It gives rise to confidence in the victory of reason over the forces of war and militarism.

Trade union organizations in different countries are becoming ever more active in combatting the nuclear threat. The trade union movement is a major force in the contemporary world and one of the most important components of the movement for humanity's survival.

The coupling of the fight for the working people's interests with the fight for peace and disarmament means that the masses' awareness of the danger looming over humankind is ever more clear and profound. This is why it is so important that the trade unions join in that fight.

I am glad for the chance to greet at your congresses numerous envoys and representatives of trade unions from different countries, of their international associations.

I am convinced that the right to live and work in peace is a primary and inalienable right of every person. Nothing can set working people against themselves. The arms race and war bring workers neither profits nor dividends. Peace, cooperation, and work provide the conditions for worker well-being and social progress.

The peace and security of a country is not the concern of diplomats and politicians alone. Peace and security for the homeland is the concern of every one of us, of all Soviet people. Comrades, I would like to make a point. Peace is to be achieved primarily by our everyday work at the factory, in the field, and at the research institute. The better and more successfully we cope with our tasks at home, the louder and more forcefully will resound the voice of the Soviet Union in defense of peace internationally.

Comrades, today we know and understand full well that the all-out offensive -- economic, political, psychological and militarist -- launched by the forces of reaction at the end of the 70s and the beginning of the 80s was dictated, among other things, by our internal state of affairs.

Today, with the enemy's stake on our lagging behind having suffered a serious setback, imperialism is shifting the emphasis to preventing us from enacting the plans for reform by hampering, slowing down and frustrating them through the arms race. To this end they exert every effort to maintain international tension and preserve conditions in the world which continue to describe the USSR as a source of all evils and misfortunes. All this is as outdated as imperialism itself. There is nothing unexpected or principally new in such behaviour by the reactionaries.

Our answer is clear. We have been and will keep doing everything necessary to absolutely guarantee our security and the security of our friends and allies, so that no one is tempted to test our borders. But we shall not make a single step in excess of the demands and requirements of sensible, sufficient defense. Let us not repeat -- automatically without thinking -- what imperialism is seeking to impose on us in the arms race. We are keeping and will continue to keep all doors open for any honest steps to limit and reduce arms, to secure dependable verification over this process, and to strengthen international mutual security.

Our every step along the path of socialist renewal is both a victory for the forces of peace and progress and a setback for the forces of aggression and militarism.

This is, comrades, how the issues we are advancing in domestic policy merge with the matters to be resolved in the international arena. The tasks of acceleration, reorganization of socialist society, prevention of nuclear catastrophe, demilitarization of the world and humanization of international relations form the core of the strategic course of the 27th CPSU Congress, a course confirmed and

particularized by the January plenum of the Central Committee. Let me assure you, comrades, that the party shall not depart from the course it has taken. Relying on your support, on the support of the workers, farmers and intellectuals, all Soviet people, the party shall advance -- resolutely, boldly and purposefully -- along the path started 70 years ago by the Great October Socialist Revolution.

I wish the congress successful work, and the delegates and guests big new accomplishments, health and vigour.

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CSO: 5200/1325

## RELATED ISSUES

### GORBACHEV, FASTING SCIENTIST EXCHANGE 'SUPPORT'

LD281544 Moscow TASS in English 1450 GMT 28 Feb 87

[Text] Washington February 28 TASS -- American scientist Charles Hyder, who is holding "a fast for peace" in Lafayette Park across the road from the White House for the 159th Day, has received a message from Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The message said, among other things:

"We in Moscow highly value your courageous actions, your willingness to accept an act of self-sacrifice in the name of stopping the nuclear arms race.

"Your voice in defense of humanity's self-preservation has been heard by millions of people, including in the Soviet Union. Your spiritual strength is needed to continue the struggle for preventing a nuclear catastrophe.

"For this reason we urge you to stop your hunger strike and we also invite you to come for treatment and rest to the Soviet Union."

Most grateful for the Soviet leader's message, the U.S. anti-war activist said in a return letter: "Your generous and compassionate communique was warmly received, and I am flattered that you took the time."

Hyder then reiterated his commitment to the goals of his campaign, which are to make sure that the U.S. Government takes practical steps towards destroying nuclear weapons by the year 2000 and renouncing a policy of military intervention.

He said U.S. media had prevented the truth about those demands getting to the American people but he was determined to continue fasting "until the conditions to end the fast are granted by the U.S. Government."

"I can only thank you again and communicate my happiness and admiration for the new directions that the Soviet Union has been taking in recent years," Hyder said in conclusion, adding: "You have an enthusiastic supporter in me. Health, happiness and good luck."

The American leadership, meanwhile, keeps ignoring the "fast for peace" declared by a U.S. citizen and coldbloodedly dooming him to death by its stubborn reluctance to make any moves to stop the nuclear arms race.

A White House official spokesman, who asked not to be identified, told a TASS correspondent that the administration "has not yet taken a stand" on Hyder's hunger strike.

The spokesman added that he had "never heard" anybody in the White House discuss the fate of the scientist fasting in the park across the road and that he doubted the White House would ever have any reaction to Hyder's protest action.

Representative Ronald Dellums said in a special statement that two American nationals, separated by less than a hundred meters, today were facing the challenge to defend the principles they believed must underlie international relations and that the two were the U.S. President and astrophysicist Hyder fasting in protest against the administration's nuclear policies.

Dellums said the sad fact was that verifiable arms control agreements with the Soviet Union were a feasible reality at the recent meeting in Reykjavik but the U.S. Administration had preferred carrying on and scaling up the nuclear arms race to embarking on mutual and verifiable cuts in strategic and tactical nuclear weapons.

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## RELATED ISSUES

### GROMYKO MEETS UN SCIENTISTS, ANSWERS QUESTIONS

PM251634 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Feb 87 Morning Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Meeting With UN Scientific Experts"]

[Text] On 17 February in the Kremlin, A.A. Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, received a group of prominent scientists, diplomats, and politicians who are taking part in the international meeting of UN experts in Moscow on the subject of "Problems of Mankind's Survival and Development on the Threshold of the 21st Century."

"This meeting," Academician P.N. Fedoseyev, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences and who represents the participants, said, "is organized by the UN Secretariat for the International Peace Year and the USSR Academy of Sciences Scientific Council for the Study of Problems of Peace and Disarmament. It will last from 17-19 February and will end with the drawing up recommendations from the experts to the UN secretary general."

Taking part in the conversation were Miljan Komatina (SFRY), representative of the UN secretary general at the experts' meeting; Abdelkader Abbadi (Morocco), Khail Khamdani (Pakistan), and Robin Ludwig (United States), staffers of the UN secretariat; Kinkhide Musakodzi (Japan), prorector of the UN University; Marek Khagmayer (Poland), general secretary of the World Federation of United Nations Associations; John Trent (Canada), general secretary of the International Association of Political Sciences; Candido Mendez (Brazil), chairman of the UNESCO International Council for Social Sciences; Roberto Aliboni, director of the Institute of International Relations; Jerome Wiesner (United States), president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Michel Lesage (Belgium), general secretary of the International Institute of Administrative Sciences; Maciej Nalecz (Poland), chairman of the International Pugwash Council; and Rolf Bjornerstedt (Sweden), representative of the Alva and Gunnar Myrdal Foundation. Here too were the Soviet scientists Academicians G.A. Arbatov and Ye.M Primakov and Doctors of Sciences O.N. Bykov, A.K. Kislov, and G.I. Morozov.

An exchange of opinions on a wide range of problems relating to the UN role in ensuring mankind's survival and development took place in a frank and friendly atmosphere.

A.A. Gromyko answered the scientists' questions about the problems under discussion. He stressed that the UN Charter enshrines everything necessary to ensure that the organization acts as an effective instrument for maintaining international peace and security.

We are convinced, he noted, that mankind cannot be doomed to eternal confrontation, that common sense and an elementary sense of self-preservation will prompt states to seek ways of overcoming the existing contradictions. The peoples are well aware of the disastrous consequences of nuclear war and will force those who are still trying to engage in brinkmanship and pursuing a policy of the arms race to reach agreements.

The resolution of mankind's global problems cannot be postponed any longer. The arms race, the ecological, energy, and resource problems, the economic backwardness of the developing countries -- all this creates a threat to mankind's existence and survival. No one state or group of states can resolve global problems. Constructive, creative collaboration among states and peoples on a global scale is needed here, a new way of thinking is needed. M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, spoke of this in detail on 16 February at the meeting with participants in the international forum "For a Nuclear-free World, for the Survival of Humanity."

Naturally, the United Nations can and must be a center for joint actions and cooperation among states in tackling problems of worldwide significance while complying strictly with the organization's charter.

For this to become possible, it is necessary to promote the ending of the arms race, the improvement of the international political climate, and the reorientation of the international community's efforts toward the tackling of the problems of all mankind.

The Soviet Union proceeds on the basis that the role of the machineries for international cooperation, and above all that of such a unique organization as the United Nations, in resolving the most important problems of development will increase all the time. That is why our country supports this international organization and struggles to increase its effectiveness and to establish within its walls a new approach to the resolution of international problems. M.S. Gorbachev's letter to the UN secretary general spoke of what specifically the Soviet Union did to ensure that International Peace Year justified the hopes pinned on it. Our country intends to continue to promote the effective utilization of the UN's potential under the humane slogan of International Peace Year, "Preserve peace and mankind's future."

A.A. Gromyko went on to answer other questions from the scientists.

M. Khagmayyer: Where does the Soviet Union see possibilities for improving the work of the IAEA?

A.A. Gromyko: We believe that the IAEA is a very important international organization. Recent events have shown that this organization must be strengthened. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium recently ratified two conventions drawn up within the framework of that organization. We call on all countries that have not yet ratified them to do so.

As for the IAEA's future prospects, the Soviet Union proposes the elaboration, under its auspices, of designs for a new generation of reactor systems, taking into account the latest achievements in the area of ensuring safety; a reliable system of measures to prevent attacks on nuclear targets; steps to prevent nuclear terrorism; and international legal regulation of responsibility for nuclear damage. These are the areas where accords must be reached. If they are reached, mankind will be much better off.

But the main aim that must be sought is nuclear disarmament, and the IAEA machinery can help here too.

M. Komatina: I am very impressed by your definition of the restructuring as a "revolution." I would like to know why you call it that. And a second question: If we were signing the UN Charter today, would it be possible to reach agreement on it?

A.A. Gromyko: First, as regards the restructuring, we sometimes use the expression "revolution." It is not a question of a social revolution. We mean a revolution in the management of state, economic, and social affairs, a revolution in people's thinking. What we are doing consists of profound processes covering all aspects of life. So we have reason to use such a word, to emphasize the radical nature of our measures.

Second, on the question about the UN Charter, I think today it would be more difficult to reach agreement on the relevant questions than it was when it was drafted and signed.

J. Trent: First, Mr Gromyko, I would like to thank you sincerely for receiving us today. Are there spheres in the United Nations in which changes could take place in its activity?

A.A. Gromyko: In the United Nations, one of the main organs is the Security Council. Under the organization's charter, it is supposed to ensure peace. The principle of unanimity of the permanent members of the Security Council operates there, and so it should. Without it the UN could not function at all. So the task is to continue to uphold this principle and struggle within the UN framework for the resolution of the most important problems of today, above all disarmament problems.

A. Abbadi: The Soviet Union recently submitted to the United Nations a proposal on creating a system of international security. In the light of this problem, how do you see the role of the Security Council in the nineties?

A.A. Gromyko: I do not think it is possible at present to achieve the necessary consensus on this question in the Security Council, unless certain powers, which are permanent members of the Security Council, change their negative stance. But there was a time when the three great powers were able to elaborate important accords, in Yalta, for instance. It would be good if they could act together today, too, in the interests of peaceful development.

In conclusion, the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium wished the UN experts fruitful and successful work.

Also present at the talk were T.N. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium leading workers M.Ye. Mogilevets, D.N. Nikitin, P.I. Sabayev, L.N. Chernikov, R.B. Eldarova, and E.L. Kuzmin.

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CSO: 5200/1325

## RELATED ISSUES

### USSR DEFENSE MINISTER ON SOVIET MILITARY DOCTRINE

PM231202 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Feb 87 First Edition p 2

[Article by USSR Defense Minister Marshal of the Soviet Union S.L. Sokolov: "Watching Over Peace and the Motherland's Security"]

[Text] The Soviet people and their glorious Armed Forces are today celebrating Soviet Army and Navy Day. Created by V.I. Lenin and the Communist Party, the Soviet Armed Forces have for 69 years selflessly and loyally served their motherland and reliably defended the gains of Great October and the cause of socialism.

This year's holiday is taking place on the eve of the anniversary of the 27th party congress, which comprehensively developed the strategic course set by the CPSU Central Committee April (1986) Plenum toward the acceleration of the USSR's socioeconomic development and the restructuring of Soviet society. This process was given depth and purpose by the CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum.

The restructuring which is taking place in the country is under way in the Armed Forces too. Army and Navy personnel unanimously support the party's policy, are working intensively to ensure the high-quality fulfillment of the tasks arising from the congress decisions, and strive for higher indicators in combat and political training and in increasing the combat readiness of the troops and naval forces.

The high assessment of the Armed Forces given at the CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum makes it incumbent on military cadres to work still more persistently and purposefully to fulfill the tasks set. The special significance of this work arises from the need to renew all aspects of our society's life, and also from the complex international situation and the increase in the threat of war which emanates from imperialism. Imperialism's reactionary circles, and above all the United States, are continuing to accelerate the arms race, implementing long-term military programs, and unleashing military conflicts in various regions of the world which they arbitrarily declare to be spheres of "vital interests."

The military-strategic parity which has grown up between the USSR and the United States and between the NATO countries and the Warsaw Pact states does not suit Washington. In order to rule the world and dictate its will to other states, the United States seeks to acquire unilateral military superiority. It therefore discards agreements which limit nuclear arsenals. That is what it has done with the SALT II treaty. For more than 18 months the Soviet Union adhered to a unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions. But the United States not only failed to join in, but continued its own tests. This forces the USSR to end the operation of our moratorium.

The Pentagon is now hurriedly preparing to embark on the phased deployment of a large-scale ABM system which is being created under the SDI program and deliberately moving toward scrapping the Soviet-American ABM Treaty -- a very important brake on the arms race. The U.S. desire to place weapons in space as soon as possible has the goal of making the SDI program irreversible and basically excluding the possibility of the limitation or control of the arms race.

In order to break the dangerous chain of events, stop the arms race, and prevent nuclear war, the Soviet Union has put forward a number of constructive peace-loving initiatives and practical measures. On 15 January 1986 the USSR put forward a program for a nuclear-free world.

The 27th CPSU Congress drew up the Principles of a Comprehensive System of International Security. A unique opportunity to put an end to the arms race forever was opened up by the package of radical measures put forward by our country in Reykjavik. The Soviet Union and all the planet's peace-loving forces are appealing for progress from the point reached at the Soviet-American meeting in the Icelandic capital further along the path toward the reduction and elimination of nuclear arms and the prevention of their placing in space, rather than backtracking, as the American administration is doing.

Together with its allies the USSR has taken bold steps on questions of confidence-building measures and the reduction of conventional arms and armed forces in Europe and expressed readiness to completely eliminate chemical weapons. Our country's new approach to building a world that is free from nuclear weapons and nonviolent is expressed in the Delhi Declaration. The Soviet Union actively calls for the strengthening of peace and security in Asia and the Pacific, the creation of nuclear-free zones, the just political settlement of regional conflicts, and the lessening of international tension in various regions of the globe.

The responsible, constructive approach of the CPSU and the Soviet state to the problems of war and peace also stands out clearly in Soviet military doctrine, with its unequivocally defensive thrust. Its main proposition is not to permit war, to prevent it. The attainment of this goal is ensured by political means, and also by maintaining at the necessary level the country's defense and the combat might of the USSR Armed Forces. This might ensure that everyone must reckon with it. At the same time it threatens nobody and is a real factor for preserving peace and ensuring international security.

Soviet military doctrine provides for the need to maintain military-strategic parity. Our principled line on this question is that we do not seek military superiority over other countries, but we will not permit superiority over us. The Soviet Union has never initiated the development or creation of new types of weapons. It was forced to strengthen its defense capability in response to the growing threat from the United States.

The Soviet Union formerly advocated and advocates now the decisive lowering of the level of military confrontation, the cutting of military potentials to the level necessary and sufficient for defense, and the complete elimination of nuclear and other types of weapons of mass destruction from the strategic balance. Naturally, this can only be done on the basis of the principles of reciprocity, with effective verification

and on condition that equal security is ensured. A few days ago, in his speech at the Moscow international forum "For a Nuclear-free World, for the Survival of Mankind," M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, once again noted that the Soviet Union is ready to renounce its status as a nuclear power and reduce all other arms to the minimum reasonable sufficiency.

The provisions of Soviet military doctrine are oriented exclusively toward ensuring the reliable defense of our motherland's freedom and independence. This is convincingly indicated by the fact that the USSR has unilaterally pledged not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. Together with the other Warsaw Pact countries the Soviet Union has officially stated that it will never, in any circumstances, start military operations against another state unless it and its allies are themselves the targets of an attack. Imperialist propaganda fabrications about the "Soviet military threat" are therefore absurd. In reality those who talk most about this nonexistent threat have themselves not renounced the use or threat of force or taken a single step toward lessening military confrontation and tension.

The entire heroic history of the Soviet Armed Forces confirms the unchanging nature of their lofty purpose -- to defend the socialist fatherland. They have not attacked anyone in the past and do not intend to do so in the future. All the wars that the Soviet state has had to wage have been imposed on it. And they have been waged with the aim of rebuffing aggression and routing the aggressor. Under the leadership of Lenin's party, our army inflicted a decisive defeat on the domestic counterrevolution and foreign military intervention in the years of the Civil War. It made a decisive contribution to the routing of the armed forces of fascist Germany, its satellites, and militarist Japan, and appeared in the eyes of all progressive mankind as a liberator army.

The personnel of today's Armed Forces are characterized by such lofty qualities as boundless devotion to the cause of Lenin's party and Great October and to the Soviet people, conscious military discipline, and ardent patriotism and internationalism. Soviet servicemen worthily continue the traditions of selfless service to the motherland. They display courage and heroism in giving assistance to the Afghan people in defense of their revolutionary gains. Servicemen acted valiantly in eliminating the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl AES and of natural disasters. In the course of day-to-day combat training and service, in keeping combat watch, and in resolving all their tasks, the personnel of units and ships selflessly fulfill their military duty.

In conditions where imperialism's aggressiveness is intensifying and the rate of development of the means and methods of armed struggle and military matters in general is increasing, higher demands than in the past are made on the Armed Forces and on their constant combat readiness. This must be such as to allow nobody to catch us unawares, such as to ensure the ability of troops and naval forces to rebuff an attack and rout any aggressor by means of energetic combat actions. To this end it is very important constantly to improve the quality of training of troops and naval forces, to improve the style and methods of military cadres' work, to develop their capacity firmly to control their subordinate units and ships, and to seek a high level of organization and discipline.

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## RELATED ISSUES

### MOSCOW WEEKLY HITS U.S. 'GWEN' C3-I SYSTEM

Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 5, 9 Feb 87 pp 12-13

[Article by Andrei Arkhipov]

[Text]

**I** Our regular reader and correspondent Bryan Johns of Milwaukee, Oregon, writes:

Sometimes openly, often secretly, the Pentagon has spent almost \$20 billion for a command, control, communications and intelligence network. Called C<sup>3</sup>I (cee cubed eye), this system is designed to "survive and endure through trans- and post-attack phases of a Soviet nuclear strike," as the Air Force said in its report. In the first moments of a nuclear war, the command posts in Washington, D.C., and the mountains of Maryland and Colorado would disappear in nuclear explosions. Generals would continue to fight from airborne command posts, transmitting messages through a new communications system which would continue to function despite the electromagnetic pulse created by high altitude nuclear detonations.

The new system, estimated to cost one billion dollars, is called GWEN, for Ground Wave Emergency Network. Construction of GWEN has been under way for a year or more, and the Air Force gives two reasons for building it. First, unlike conventional electronic communications, it is not put out of operation by the electromagnetic pulse. Second, the system is internally redundant: the destruction of one or more towers does not stop the transmission of messages, because they are automatically re-routed through other stations.

In 1985 the Air Force began acquiring construction sites and building GWEN stations. But resistance appeared. Public opposition at Amherst, Massachusetts, caused the Air Force to move its proposed station to Barre, where more opposition forced a move to Taunton, where still more opposition has so far prevented the building of the station. But stations have been built at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, Spokane, Washington, and a number of other locations.

The Air Force has planned stations in Wenatchee, Washington, and in Klamath Falls, Eugene and Portland, Oregon. It was in Eugene that the lawsuit filed by the No-GWEN Alliance came to trial in the court of U.S. District Judge James M. Burns. The alliance assembled an impressive group of witnesses: William M. Arkin, co-author of the book "Nuclear Battlefields," and two high-ranking naval officers, now retired and active in the Centre for Defence Information. Testifying by telephone from Washington, James Bush, former commander of U.S. naval nuclear forces in Europe, declared that GWEN makes nuclear war more likely because it is part of the policy of acquiring a position to fight a nuclear war.

Eugene J. Carroll, former director of U.S. military operations in Europe, added that GWEN is part of a strategy to prevail in war by employing a first strike to "decapitate" the Soviet Union. William Arkin pointed out that Eugene and other GWEN sites become first-priority targets under this strategy.

In cross-examination the Air Force counsel asked: Wouldn't GWEN be useful in bringing a nuclear exchange to a halt? No, because nuclear war is uncontrollable; it cannot be limited, said Admiral Carroll emphatically, adding that he did not know of any military expert who believes it can be. Secretary Weinberger, he said, is wrong.

Interview with J.P. Morray, lawyer and author of many books on political and military questions, and active in the No-GWEN Alliance of Lane County, which filed the suit to stop the building of a GWEN tower:

Q.: Pentagon spokesmen say that GWEN and similar projects aim to deter the Soviet Union from launching a nuclear attack, and do not reflect any U.S. belief that a nuclear war can be won. Would you comment on this statement?

A.: The GWEN installations are clearly aimed at continuing the fight after an initial exchange of nuclear weapons. By its very definition of the system as one that will survive the electromagnetic pulse of high altitude nuclear explosions, the Air Force reveals that it is designed to enable the United States to fight a nuclear war for a long time.

Q.: The Air Force argues that the system is defensive because a nuclear burst would knock out conventional communications, and GWEN is needed to notify the bombers to take to the air. It guarantees deterrence.

A.: The bomber commands are pre-programmed to respond to such an eventuality, and therefore need no such message. They would take off when the bombs began to explode, or even when the incoming missiles were detected. For deterrence to be effective it is necessary that the Soviets know that if they launch a nuclear strike they will receive in return a hard response. GWEN is not needed for that, and it adds nothing to that potential.

Q.: Under the leadership of congressmen Silvio Conte of Massachusetts and Les AuCoin of Oregon the defence appropriations subcommittee has recently moved to cut the Air Force request for 158 GWEN towers to 127. They suggest that this is a victory for the peace forces because this would be only a defensive system. Do you agree?

A.: That is a fallback position of politicians, a compromise to try to placate the peace forces while giving the Pentagon most of what it wants. Soviet military experts will see a 127-tower system for what it is, an element in nuclear war-fighting capacity.

Q.: Donald C. Latham, Pentagon director of Command, Control, Communications and Intelligence, says that GWEN would continue to operate "even after a nuclear laydown." But Franklin C. Miller, Pentagon director of Strategic Policy, has said that survival of GWEN in a long war is "patent nonsense." What do you think is the truth about Washington's attitude on this question?

A.: There are many signs that Washington thinks that victory in a nuclear war with the Soviet Union is possible, an attainable goal. The development of small, highly accurate nuclear weapons, the selection of military targets to destroy strength, and the GWEN system to continue the war: these are the clues that Washington is preparing to fight a long nuclear war.

Comment by a military expert, Major General Filip Gontar:

The development of the new C<sup>3</sup>I system for the guidance of all nuclear and conventional U.S. armed forces is just another sphere in which the arms race is being spurred.

The system is designed to enable the United States to effect control over such wars and to emerge victorious from them.

A particularly big role is assigned to the C<sup>3</sup>I system in the realization of Reagan's Strategic Defence Initiative.

In the opinion of its authors, it should ensure the steady functioning of all the components making up the space strike weapons in the face of powerful enemy resistance.

An important component of the command, control, communications and intelligence network is the long-wave GWEN subsystem. The latter is intended to comprise 500-odd unmanned communication centres covering the entire continental part of the U.S.A. The first few stations of the system having already been put into operation, it is planned to complete its establishment in the early 1990s.

The active public opposition to providing construction sites for the GWEN stations in some states is quite understandable. The public is aware that, in the event of nuclear war, these sites may become first-priority targets for nuclear attacks.

The evidence collected by *New Times* shows that the present U.S. administration is hastily building up the material facilities for waging a nuclear war and ending it on "terms advantageous for the United States." This is convincingly corroborated by other recent facts too.

A sum of \$312 billion (as compared to \$190 billion in 1981) has been requested for military spending in the fiscal year of 1988. While paying lip service to nuclear arms limitation and reduction the U.S. administration has actually refused to observe the SALT-2 provisions by putting into service the 131st and 132nd B-52 bombers with nuclear cruise missiles on board. It has given high priority to the "star wars" (SDI) programme. The Reykjavik summit has revealed that SDI is incompatible with nuclear disarmament. Since the U.S.S.R. introduced its unilateral moratorium, Washington has conducted 24 nuclear explosions. The refusal of the U.S. administration to end nuclear weapon tests, which are fueling the nuclear arms race, obviously shows that it is eager to develop ever more advanced and sophisticated nuclear charges, including those for space strike weapons and other nuclear facilities for a first debilitating attack.

In attempting to mislead U.S. public opinion about preparations for nuclear war and its disastrous consequences, the U.S. media are in fact carrying out an order from the Pentagon. Their purpose is to inhibit vigorous mass anti-nuclear action.

#### **IV** Bryan Johns continues his story about the GWEN hearing:

Judge Burns announced his decision three days later: the Air Force could build its tower in Eugene. "This is simply not the proper forum to examine the wisdom of our national defence policy."

The words have a familiar ring. In 1856 Chief Justice Taney, writing for the majority of the U.S. Supreme Court in *Dred Scott versus John F.A. Sandford*, ruled that "this court had no jurisdiction" to prevent the spread of slavery from the slave states to those in which state law forbade it. Further, he said, the Constitution prevented the U.S. Congress from stopping the spread of slavery into any of the vast territories in which states had not yet been formed.

The decision of Judge Taney, representing the interests of a half a million slaveowners and the forces that they could marshal, was directly at odds with the rising abolitionist sentiment, the conviction that progress required the destruction of the right to own slaves. Abraham Lincoln summed up the popular will: the decision of the Supreme Court is wrong, and should be reversed. In the only forum that remained to them the people reversed it, and abolished slavery entirely in the American Civil War. It was the worst bloodletting by Americans in any of the nation's wars, even though the population was only one fifth that of today.

A new abolitionist movement has taken root in the United States, and throughout the world, a movement seeking the abolition of the arms race and of nuclear weapons. It simply cannot be ignored. The people chained to

a war machine feel their bondage. How can the shackles be broken? Where is the forum in which the will of the people may be expressed? The decision of Judge Burns will be appealed. Perhaps, there is prospect in more public pressure on the Congress. It is too early to say how the people will free themselves. But we will, because we must. The law is mighty, said Goethe, but mightier, necessity.

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## RELATED ISSUES

### PRAVDA FEATURES IISS HEAD'S ARTICLE, ADM AMELKO REPLY

PM250939 [Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 February 1987 First Edition carries on page 4 under the rubric "From Different Positions" the following article by Robert O'Neill, director of the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), under the headline "The Challenge to U.S. Strategy in the Pacific," reprinted from the INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE's 6 February edition:

"The growth of the Soviet Pacific fleet and of its basing system presents major challenges and problems to the shapers of U.S. allied naval policies. The Western allies, an array of nations separated by two oceans, cannot afford to lose control of the sea in a conflict, yet improvements in Soviet naval and air power raise questions about the West's ability to control sea lanes and about the credibility of its deterrent posture both in the Atlantic and in the Pacific.

"Several remedies have been sought. The Reagan administration's naval construction program is the most direct response, but costs are outrunning resources at a time of increased fiscal stringency. The Soviets may prove better suited for the conduct of a long-term naval race, not because of greater economic strength but through a greater ability to maintain priorities for the sake of national security in times of austerity.

"Of course, sheer numbers of U.S. ships will not suffice to meet the Soviet challenge: They must be used in accordance with sound strategic concepts. The new U.S. naval strategy of forward deployment in time of crisis is intended to prevent the Soviet fleet from breaking out and attacking in mid-ocean. Weapons like the dual-capable (nuclear or conventional) Tomahawk cruise missile can enhance survivability, enabling ships to stay farther from opposing forces. They also raise the risk to Soviet forces in any attempted push outward.

"But these remedies raise new problems for the United States and its allies. Dual-capable systems, particularly when combined with the new naval strategy, can reduce political stability and complicate the control of escalation. At a time when there is widespread debate on first use of nuclear weapons in the European theater, some thought also has to be given to these issues in the Pacific to ensure a consistent policy.

"The nuclear firebreak established at heavy cost in Europe might be worthless if nuclear conflict were to break out in the Pacific at virtually the outset of any hostilities. In the Pacific, the situation regarding first use of nuclear weapons is in some ways the reverse of that in Europe. It is not the West but the Soviet Union that has the more powerful incentive to employ them first. The major units of the U.S. fleet offer a tempting target, and the Soviet Navy might stand to gain from first use in an all-out war at sea.

"Indeed, if the U.S. Navy surges forward, the Soviets may see no other option. This is not to say that the Soviets will ignore the possibility that the tactical use of nuclear weapons at sea might lead to strategic use against their territory.

"But, as we know, the danger of escalation has not of itself led NATO to discard the first-use option. Rather, it has turned the minds of leaders on both sides toward arms control and confidence-building measures in the European theater. It is time that more attention was given to consideration of such measures for the Pacific, particularly in the northwest corner, the Sea of Okhotsk and the Sea of Japan, where the stakes are so high.

"Another of the West's means of maintaining its strength in the Pacific is its basing system. As the Soviet naval challenge there increases, so does the importance of forward bases, which enable the West to preserve a favorable balance of naval power in the Western Pacific with due economy of resources. However, to retain access to these bases, the United States must have the cooperation of leaders in Japan and the Philippines.

"Soviet policy toward Japan in the past decade has made it easier for Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone to bring his country into closer alignment with America and has reduced domestic opposition to the presence of U.S. bases. Nonetheless, the deployment of cruise missiles and the adoption of the new maritime strategy by the Reagan administration have reinvigorated domestic criticism in Japan and placed the government somewhat on the defensive. Care and sensitivity will be called for by the United States if Japanese opposition to the bases is to be kept limited.

"In the Philippines, the debate over bases is colored chiefly by nationalism and changing national aspirations, as Mrs Aquino's government struggles to maintain and extend domestic political support. The United States has to be particularly careful not to provide new ammunition to those who call for the expulsion of U.S. forces. New Zealand's suspension from ANZUS has not weakened the antinuclear cause in other Pacific states. This is demonstrated by the recent ratification of the Rarotonga Treaty establishing the South Pacific Nuclear-Free Zone, the protocols of which the United States has declined to sign.

"It would be a sad irony if the American responses to the Soviet naval challenge in the Pacific were to undermine the political consensus so vital to preserving access to the key U.S. bases in Japan and the Philippines and to maintaining essential cooperation with its other partners."

PRAVDA accompanies the reprint of O'Neill's article with the following commentary by Admiral Nikolay Amelko, military inspector and advisor to the USSR Ministry of Defense, entitled "Who Threatens Whom:"

"When analyzing strategic problems, the majority of Western military experts, regardless of whether they wear a uniform or civilian dress, profess a principle that is very strange even from the viewpoint of logic. They try to justify the obvious buildup of the imperialist states' military might, confirmed by numerous facts, and their adoption of overtly aggressive strategic concepts with quite vague references to the 'Soviet military threat.' This, as can be seen, is also the approach of the director of the London Institute for Strategic Studies.

"All his arguments are based on the claim that the Soviet Union is building up its naval might in the Pacific on a threatening scale. Evidently somewhat more experienced than some of his colleagues, O'Neill does not descend to manipulating figures to substantiate such an argument. He points out that this question is obvious. In reality, no buildup of our fleet is taking place in the Pacific, nor is there a threat to anyone. Yes, the Soviet Pacific Fleet, like our other fleets, is being equipped with modern combat hardware; it is acquiring sophisticated new ships to replace those that have completed their service. However, in the sphere of naval armaments, the USSR is not doing anything beyond what is dictated by the minimum requirements of our defense and the protection of our friends and allies against a maritime attack.

"The defensive nature of the Soviet Navy is confirmed by the fact that it incorporates almost no forces for land-based operations. [paragraph continues]

At the same time, the U.S. Navy incorporates forces for making strikes against onshore targets and capturing territories: aircraft carriers with nuclear weapons carriers, battleships and submarines with Tomahawk cruise missiles, and amphibious forces capable of simultaneously landing up to one marine division of more than 40,000 men.

"But let us return to O'Neill's article. Setting up a 'strategic' fog, he argues at length to the effect that the USSR might find some 'incentive' for the first use of nuclear weapons in the Pacific. One can only be amazed at why such a specialist ignores the fundamental fact that Soviet military doctrine resolutely rejects the concept of attack and of preemptive strikes. It is based on the principles of defensive actions. It is even more strange that he did not consider it necessary even to mention that the USSR unilaterally has adopted a pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons and has even proposed their total elimination by the year 2000.

"What, then, was the purpose of these arguments, which we regard as rather unscrupulous? To justify the new naval strategy adopted by the Pentagon. O'Neill is compelled to state: Its nature is such that it frightens even U.S. allies. In fact, the basic idea of this strategy consists in so-called 'global and immediate forward deployment,' whose purpose is neither more nor less than to 'lock up' the Soviet fleet. Here Admiral J. Watkins, one of the authors of this strategy, points out that U.S. naval formations 'will destroy Soviet forces in forward positions and, if necessary, break through to Soviet territorial waters.' But the chief aim, Watkins frankly revealed, 'is to shoot the archer before he fires his arrows.' Here is not a fabricated but a real gamble on the first strike for you!

"It is significant that the Pentagon has turned Pacific expanses into a test range for rehearsing this sinister concept. Every year the U.S. Navy involves its allies in rehearsing both 'global deployment' and a blockade of Far Eastern straits (recall the task of 'locking up' the Soviet fleet). Strikes against Soviet targets are rehearsed in the plans for these militarist demonstrations.

"It is hardly surprising that such plans elicit a resolute protest from the peoples of Asia. These protests have gripped countries that are involved to one degree or another in the American strategy, for it is perfectly obvious that the U.S. bases in Japan, South Korea, and the Philippines essentially have been turned into the infrastructure of nuclear aggression. The indignation of the population of those countries can certainly not be regarded as an 'irony.' Indeed, who could be enticed by the role of Washington's nuclear hostages?...

"The desire of the peoples to narrow the sphere of nuclear preparations in the Asia and Pacific region is perfectly natural. The way to do this is to create nuclear-free zones. In accordance with the Rarotonga Treaty, the South Pacific has already been proclaimed such a zone. The ideas of creating similar zones in Southeast Asia and on the Korean Peninsula are finding more and more supporters in Asian states.

"The attitude of a particular great power to such noble initiatives attests to its true intentions. Thus, whereas the Soviet Union and the PRC have signed the protocols to the Rarotonga Treaty, Washington resolutely has declined to do so. It is permissible to ask: Just who is gambling on unleashing nuclear war in the Pacific? Of course, not the Soviet Union. Contrary to what O'Neill maintains, it is certainly not our country that is threatening the security of that vast region.

"However, the article by the director of the London Institute does contain one very sensible idea: That the time has come to devote attention to considering confidence-building measures for the Pacific. However, I think that for this we should not wait for a still greater deterioration in the situation.

"Particularly because a good basis for this already exists. In Vladivostok and Delhi, the Soviet Union advanced an extensive program of measures to lessen tension in that part of the world. The USSR proposed beginning talks on reducing the activity of military fleets in the Pacific, primarily ships equipped with nuclear weapons. Limiting rivalry in the sphere of antisubmarine weapons also would undoubtedly help strengthen stability. The Soviet Union is also ready to hold talks with the United States and interested Asian states on confidence-building measures in the military sphere in respect of Asia and the adjacent waters of the Indian Ocean and the Pacific. What is proposed, in particular, is notification of movements and maneuvers of these countries' ground (amphibious), naval, and air forces.

"Unfortunately, Washington is still avoiding making a direct response to those proposals. What is more, not so long ago, Pentagon chief Weinberger tried to depict the Vladivostok initiatives as though the USSR wished to hold talks only on limiting the activities of U.S. Armed Forces. This is a deliberate distortion of the Soviet position.

"It is time the U.S. military leaders and those who try to popularize their strategic constructs learned elementary conscientiousness in setting forth the other side's position."

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## RELATED ISSUES

### USSR: PRC, U.S., SOVIET OFFICIALS ON DISARMAMENT PROSPECTS

PM041227 [Editorial Report] Moscow TRUD in Russian 30 January 1987 carries on page 3 under the "TRUD Discussion Club" rubric a feature entitled "Is It Possible to Curb the Nuclear Monster and Who Is Hindering This?" The feature consists of the full texts of replies by four foreign political and public figures to two questions by TRUD -- "1. Do you believe in the possibility of eliminating nuclear weapons by the year 2000? 2. What, in your opinion, is hindering the beginning of the process of nuclear disarmament?" -- and a commentary on them by USSR special envoy Vladimir Lomeyko.

The first respondent, interviewed by TRUD correspondent V. Sisnev in London, is Norman Willis, general secretary of the British TUC [Trades Union Congress]. He says he believes disarmament by the end of the century is possible and considers that the "chief problem is the entrenched mistrust and tension that are characteristic of international relations."

The second respondent is General Fernand Gambier, director of the French Institute of Military History and member of the presidium of the France-USSR Association, interviewed by own correspondent Ye. Shulyukin in Paris, who says "it is necessary to believe in the possibility of disarmament simply because nuclear war is madness." He claims that "fears in France regarding a 'Soviet threat' are far-fetched," arguing the primary obstacle to disarmament is posed by arms dealers, for whom disarmament spells ruin, but that the "leading personnel of the army also influence the drafting of policy." He lauds confidence-building proposals made by Gorbachev and regrets they have not been heeded in the West. Gorbachev's efforts at Reykjavik were "thwarted by the American side," he claims.

The remainder of the feature is cited in its entirety:

#### Huang Rujie [subhead]

"Huang Rujie is deputy chief of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions International Affairs Department. He told our Beijing correspondent S. Kuznetsov the following:

"1. I am pleased to be able to express briefly my opinion on the questions of disarmament posed by the Soviet newspaper TRUD.

"The implementation of nuclear disarmament and then the comprehensive prohibition and complete destruction of nuclear weapons are matters of enormous importance affecting the fate and prospects of mankind. They are something for which the workers and the peoples of all countries of the world are tenaciously struggling.

"The Chinese people have suffered considerably from wars and are well aware of the value of peace. At present the people of China are galvanizing all their efforts to carry out the socialist modernization of their country as quickly as possible, and for this peaceful international conditions are required. The working class and the people of PRC fervently love peace, oppose the arms race, and are putting real, unstinting effort into its achievement. During the past International Year of Peace the PRC Government submitted two resolutions to the 41st Session of the UN General Assembly concerned with reducing nuclear and conventional armaments which were approved and adopted by an overwhelming majority of UN members. As part of the peace year PRC trade unions also carried out a number of important events, including an international seminar on the topic 'Trade Unions and Peace.' All this showed once again the sincere desire of the workers of China and the PRC Government to defend peace and oppose the arms race.

"2. In resolving the problem of nuclear disarmament the United States and the Soviet Union, which possess the largest nuclear arsenals in the world, carry special responsibility and must be the first to adopt specific measures. We hope the United States and the USSR will enter into businesslike, practical negotiations on questions of disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, and will reach agreements detrimental to neither side's interests. That is in accord with the aspirations of all the peoples.

"The practical implementation of nuclear disarmament is a far from easy matter. We are firmly convinced if the workers and working people of all countries unite their efforts and take joint action we can hope that this noble goal -- the comprehensive banning and complete destruction of nuclear weapons -- will be achieved and a nuclear-free world attained.

#### Kenneth L. Adelman [subhead]

"K. L. Adelman is a prominent figure in the present U.S. Administration and director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Before his appointment to that post he was America's deputy permanent representative at the United Nations. He often expounds official U.S. policy on questions of arms control in the American press and on television. K.L. Adelman spoke to our correspondent in Washington A. Burmistenko."

"1. President Reagan, who regards the complete elimination of nuclear weapons as one of his long-term goals, discussed this question with General Secretary Gorbachev during the meeting in Reykjavik in October 1986. Both leaders expressed at that time their desire to eliminate all nuclear weapons. However, the President noted complete destruction can be achieved only when international political conditions, including the imbalance in conventional arms, have changed substantially.

"Since the end of World War II the Soviet Union has possessed an overwhelming superiority in conventional arms. Mindful of this reality, the United States and its allies consider nuclear weapons an essential means of deterrence.

"Confirmation by all nations of the norms of international conduct laid down in the UN Charter and the Helsinki accords -- renunciation of the use or threat of force, respect for states' territorial integrity, the peaceful resolution of conflicts, and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms -- combined with gradual cuts in the whole range of arms achieved through negotiation can in the context of a more defense-based concept of deterrence lead to complete destruction of all nuclear weapons.

"2. The process of nuclear disarmament has already begun in the United States. In the last 20 years the destructive might of American strategic weapons has been enormously reduced. In the last 6 years the United States has withdrawn from its arsenals thousands of units of nuclear weapons and an even larger number of such weapons is due to be scrapped. The United States now has fewer units of weapons in its nuclear arsenal than at any time since 1967.

"President Reagan has proposed a sensible, gradual program of nuclear arms reductions. We and the Soviet Union have agreed in principle to a 50 percent cut in U.S. and Soviet strategic nuclear arms in the next 3 years.

"As offensive nuclear weapons are cut both the United States and the Soviet Union could mutually switch over to defense-based deterrence. During this transitional period deterrence could be ensured by progressively lower levels of nuclear weapons provided these weapons are retained in case of a preemptive strike.

"Complete nuclear disarmament is feasible. It requires courage, resolve, and imagination -- qualities which are possessed in full measure by the USSR and U.S. peoples. It also requires concrete actions signifying the most serious political commitments, including the restoration of equilibrium in conventional armaments.

#### Vladimir Lomeyko [subhead]

"The replies by the foreign figures to TRUD's questionnaire are commented on here at our request by special envoy Vladimir Lomeyko.

"You have in front of you, readers, four replies to two questions which worry all kinds of people in all countries of the world. They are not without interest for us for various reasons: First, the broad geographical sweep -- the United States, Europe, and China. Moreover, they are from countries which possess nuclear weapons. Second, the representative standing of the respondents, who speak with knowledge of the facts and not just on their own behalf. Third, the cross-section of views -- which is itself also an answer to the question asked.

"Three of the replies -- those of the French general and academic F. Gambier, the leader of the British trade unions N. Willis, and the Chinese trade union leader Huang Ruijie -- express a belief in the need for nuclear disarmament and for efforts to be made to overcome the barriers to this, particularly mistrust, international tension, and the opposition of the military-industrial complex. Public opinion polls in various countries show that most people share such views.

"It is typical that K. Adelman should be out on his own here; Not just because he, compared to the other participants in the discussion, adopts a particular stance. That is natural once you consider he represents the U.S. Administration, and its stance is pretty well known. There is another thing, I, for example, feel awkward about in terms both of the answers and the respondent himself. He patently wants, as once used to be said, to retain his innocence while acquiring capital. This desire is very obvious. Hence the sense of awkwardness.

"According to Adelman, the Soviet Union is virtually solely responsible for the maintenance of nuclear armaments because of its 'overwhelming superiority' in conventional arms.

"Whom are these spurious arguments intended for? After all, the fact the USSR has no superiority, including no superiority in conventional arms, has already been publicly acknowledged since Reykjavik by U.S. Secretary of State Shultz and White House Chief of Staff Reagan. Not to mention the fact it is the USSR and its allies which have proposed there be cuts in the next few years in NATO and Warsaw Pact states' armed forces of 1 million men together with corresponding arms cuts. As folk wisdom has it: Those who, do; those who don't, seek pretexts.

"K. Adelman's answer to the second question can be misleading if you are unaware the reductions in the units of nuclear weapons in the United States have each time involved obsolete atomic bombs or charges which were acknowledged to be of low efficiency or even dangerous to the Americans themselves. As a result, thanks to the drastic increase in the number and accuracy of U.S. nuclear combat charges, the number of targets in our country has quadrupled since the sixties. If you take the most important element -- the number of charges on strategic delivery vehicles -- the picture is that the USSR has 10,000, while the United States has 14,800.

"Speaking about the possibility of nuclear disarmament, K. Adelman stresses that it requires 'courage, resolve, and imagination.' On whose part? After all, M.S. Gorbavhev has displayed all these qualities in putting forward a specific program for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000. If the U.S., side had responded likewise, mankind would already have begun the march toward a nuclear-free world. It is the United States from which the world public and the peoples now await 'courage, resolve, and imagination,' but not in inventing various excuses and subterfuges but in real deeds aimed at real nuclear disarmament."

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CSO: 5200/1309

## RELATED ISSUES

### RADIO MOSCOW HIGHLIGHTS COMMON INTERESTS WITH PRC

#### Cooperation Against Nuclear Threat

OW010050 Moscow in Mandarin to China 1600 GMT 28 Feb 87

[Mulatov commentary]

[Excerpts] In an address to the Soviet Trade Union Congress on 25 February, Soviet leader Gorbachev emphatically pointed out that the Soviet Union will not make a single step beyond the needs of a sensible, sufficient national defense. He said: We have, as always, kept all doors open for any honest steps to limit and reduce arms, to secure dependable verification over this process, and to strengthen international mutual security.

On this, our station observer Mulatov has the following to say:

The Soviet Union has constantly advocated political ideas totally different in principle from militarism and the policies of imperialist forces. Peaceful coexistence, the elimination of nuclear arms, and the proposal for cooperation from all countries in the world in establishing a comprehensive international security system are some of the ideas envisioned by the Soviet Union. [passage omitted]

The imperialists and reactionaries have tried their utmost to obstruct the peaceful construction of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile, international affairs have developed in a positive direction. Many countries are engaged in active political consultations regarding complex issues, and a trend for more diverse political, economic, scientific, technological, and cultural cooperation among various countries has emerged. [passage omitted]

Unlimited possibilities exist for the Soviet Union and China to cooperate in the great campaign by the people of all countries against the nuclear threat. Both our countries are resolutely opposed to escalation of the arms race to outer space, and advocate the establishment of nuclear-free zones in various regions, a total ban on nuclear weapons, and reduction of nuclear arsenals, first of all by the Soviet Union and United States.

'U.S. Imperialism'

OW270345 Moscow in Mandarin to China 0700 GMT 26 Feb 87

[Commentary by Soviet journalist on international affairs Volskiy]

[Text] Right now, the world's people are faced with the crucial issue of how to save world civilization from mounting nuclear threats. Under this situation, every country is confronted with the choice of either adopting a wait-and-see attitude or opposing nuclear threats. Those who choose to oppose nuclear threats must join their efforts and rouse their enthusiasm. The resolution adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress pointed out: The progressive forces for peace throughout the world can thwart the threat from imperialism, keep the world from falling into the nuclear abyss, and avoid the trend of turning outer space into a battlefield. The state of affairs during the past year since the 27th CPSU Congress proves the correctness of this statement and clearly shows the importance of international cooperation between the USSR and PRC is even more important. There is great potential in effecting this kind of cooperation, the 27th CPSU Congress pointed out. The state of affairs in the world has proven this point. The Soviet Union and China have maintained identical or similar stands on many crucial political issues. No one can deny such facts. Actually all of us know that the military theories of the United States and its NATO allies are based on the concept of nuclear containment, which recommends first use of nuclear weapons. With the amount of nuclear armaments in the world expanding continuously, this kind of concept has greatly increased the danger of a world nuclear war.

Now, the major nuclear powers have refused to use nuclear weapons first. Let us see why their refusal is of great significance. The Soviet Union has already accepted this obligation, while the PRC has also accepted the obligation of non-first use of nuclear weapons. The two great socialist nations have adopted an identical stand on this basic issue. This is something of great importance.

With regard to the issue of nonmilitarization of outer space, both socialist powers are opposed to the deployment of nuclear weapons in space for military purposes. However, U.S. imperialism is seeking to acquire global military predominance through an arms race in space. This is a daydream. The Soviet Union is determined to maintain the military balance between socialism and capitalism. Obviously the U.S. Star Wars plan is threatening all nations and people and undermining the foundation of international security.

Hoping to make use of the so-called SDI [Strategic Defense Initiative] plan to acquire military predominance on a global basis, Washington is also seeking to attain similar predominance in various regions. It is paying particular attention to Asia and the Pacific region. The United States has deployed nuclear weapons on its military bases in the Philippines and South Korea and on the warships of the 7th Fleet, and has turned the Micronesian Islands into a testing ground for its nuclear weapons. Washington has its own reason for refusing to sign the treaty proposed by countries of the South Pacific region to turn this region into a nuclear-free zone. The fact that both the Soviet Union and China have signed this treaty again proves that U.S. imperialism opposes these two socialist powers just like it opposes the cause of socialism in the entire world.

It is the imperialist policy of aggression, not the so-called superpower confrontation, that is threatening international security. What is our conclusion? The work of further expanding and strengthening USSR-PRC cooperation is becoming more and more important, and such cooperation is becoming more and more feasible. All this is conducive to the cause of peace and socialism, because peace and socialism are inseparable from the national interests of the Soviet Union and China.

## RELATED ISSUES

### USSR'S ARBATOV: MOSCOW FORUM VERSUS 'TRADITIONAL THINKING'

PM261509 London MORNING STAR in English 26 Feb 87 p 4

[Georgiy Arbatov article: "Dialogue Vital to Break Nuclear Mould"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The recent International Forum for a nuclear-free world held in Moscow demonstrated the possibility of East-West dialogue at a broad public level. Soviet analyst Georgiy Arbatov argues that such efforts must be intensified to break the traditional mode of thinking on disarmament.

The international Forum for a Nuclear-Free World and the Survival of Humanity has finished its work in Moscow.

Over a thousand people from all over the world took part in the debates.

The situation in the world is such that it is much more important to hear one's partner rather than oneself.

Naturally enough, in sponsoring this forum, Soviet scientists, politicians and military experts did not expect the participants would meet to discuss Soviet foreign policy.

Its task was to continue East-West dialogue at a broad public level.

One can dispute what is better -- a balance of fear or a policy aimed at building a non-nuclear world.

But it is impossible to find points of contacts without dialogue, and all those who came to the forum realised this fully.

The Soviet participants were interested in explaining to their Western colleagues the gist and details of the recent Soviet proposals on security and disarmament.

The forum had the express purpose of stepping up efforts to end the arms race and to take forward the positive potential that the Reykjavik meeting had shown the Soviet Union and the U.S. to have.

Quite often contradictory views were expressed but -- more important -- all participants had a common interest to move from rhetoric and declarations to practical deeds.

Nuclear disarmament is essential. But to find ways of reaching this goal, we have to know each other's positions.

A whole number of obstacles have to be removed in order to establish more constructive East-West relations.

In solving this problem, West Europeans could have an important say.

For the time being, they are hostages to the U.S. and are concerned primarily with the interests of their more powerful ally rather than their own.

But today, security can only be achieved politically, through dialogue based on the political will to lower the level of military confrontation.

A non-nuclear world is both real and necessary. There is no alternative to such a world. The point is how to achieve it.

I cannot blame those who question the possibility of a total ban on nuclear weapons. Such a world may seem improbable, because so far we have not even reached an understanding that we must halt the nuclear arms race.

Arguments against the possibility of a non-nuclear world seem quite logical in the context of conventional thinking.

But the point is that the traditional mode of thinking must give way to new political thinking.

If we managed to break the negative tendencies and get disarmament off the ground, say, by achieving a 50 per cent cut in strategic armaments in the forthcoming five years; if we reach accords on a chemical weapons ban and radical reductions in conventional armaments, and if we secure a general thaw in the international climate, then a non-nuclear world will appear as more and more real with every passing year and will be ultimately achieved.

Slavery had once seemed a normal way of life, but it was wiped out.

To stamp out such an evil as nuclear weapons one ought to realise that nuclear weapons are evil.

The proponents of nuclear weapons say that, if these weapons are eliminated, there will be less fear and consequently more chances for a war involving conventional weapons.

I think however that nuclear weapons will be eliminated in the context of a single process aimed at demilitarisation of international relations.

This process will incorporate reductions and elimination of other weapons and be accompanied with growing confidence to preclude the use of force in international relations.

Stability will then be ensured on a new and higher level.

One begins to act only when one knows one ought. There is an objective necessity for action, but it is yet to be understood.

That is the point about the current struggle and that is the point of current Soviet efforts in this direction.

It means winning more supporters, concluding more agreements and involving mass movements in the campaign.

There are different road-blocks on the way to a non-nuclear world.

One obstacle is the vested interest of those who build their power or pin their political hopes on it, or gain economically from it.

Another obstacle is the inertia of traditional thinking which makes people think they will not be safe unless they are surrounded with a fence made of all kinds of weapons.

It is a big problem but we are campaigning against it.

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CSO: 5200/1325

## RELATED ISSUES

### SOVIET PAPERS SUM UP FORUM RESULTS

#### SELSKAYA ZHIZN Report

PM191523 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 17 Feb 87 p 3

[TASS-SELSKAYA ZHIZN report: "Learning the Art of Living in Peace"]

[Excerpts] An international forum "For a Nuclear-Free World and the Survival of Mankind" was held in Moscow over a period of three days, 14-16 February. The forum participants established several independent "roundtables" at which they exchanged opinions and conducted debates on the most pressing questions of international life and the quest for ways of ensuring mankind's security and survival. Representatives of various political parties, public movements, and business circles, scientific and cultural figures, and clergy from over 80 countries are trying to understand one another better and support one another in the quest for the path to a world without nuclear weapons in order to save world civilization.

A wide-ranging and frank debate continued at the physicians' and medical scientists' "roundtable" session. The participants in this authoritative consultation process, whose job is to preserve the lives of millions of people, are agreed on the most important thing, according to Academician Ye. I. Chazov: "Nuclear war is a lethal danger to the entire population of the world. And the first bout of this 'last epidemic' will be incurable."

The majority see a complete ban on nuclear tests as the answer to the question of what should be done as the first step toward a nuclear-free world. The Soviet moratorium "cannot be unilateral ad infinitum, just as love cannot last long without reciprocation," Soviet cosmonaut and physician O. Yu. Atkov believes. Like many of his colleagues from other countries, Professor K. Bonhoffer (FRG) was worried by the fact that the United States does not intend to follow the USSR's example. (T. Perri) from Canada cited arguments in favor of continuing the moratorium regardless, believing that the resumption of nuclear tests would not strengthen the USSR's security.

Professor (A. Seybin) (United States), one of the creators of the poliomyelitis vaccine, did not share his optimism. In his view, the reduction of arsenals is no panacea: "Nuclear armaments can be reduced by 99 percent, a perpetual moratorium can be declared, hundreds of new, useful initiatives can be put forward without moving forward a single millimeter. Enough nuclear

munitions would be left to destroy life." The root of the evil, (Seybin) believes, is the preservation of an atmosphere of distrust, suspicion, and enmity between the two powers. In his view, the priority task at a future Soviet-U.S. summit should be to overcome confrontation on regional issues.

There was an element of controversy in the discussion of the question of the lessons of Chernobyl and the advisability of the peaceful use of nuclear energy. The members of the West German movement of physicians for the prevention of nuclear war, K. Bonhoffer said, are rather wary about the use of complex technologies and they believe that mankind must not only be rid of nuclear weapons, but also of the use of nuclear energy for peaceful ends. USSR Academy of Medical Sciences Academician L.A. Ilin did not agree: "I make a sharp distinction between the peaceful and military uses of the atom," he said. "Despite the accidents at Chernobyl and at nuclear power stations in other countries, the reality of the situation as a whole has to be considered. In my view, there is no alternative to the construction of nuclear power stations."

On Sunday the participants of the religious figures' forum held prayers at Moscow churches for everlasting peace on earth. They were received by Pimen, patriarch of all Russia. Then the debate continued on religious and moral problems produced by the nuclear age. In their replies to journalists the religious figures stressed that politicians now have a tremendous responsibility for the fate of peace.

Today's meeting of religious people should have a definite impact on the political decisions of states and governments on which the fate of peace primarily depends. Doctor of Theology (A. Shnayyer), a rabbi from the United States, believes. If I had occasion to talk with R. Reagan and M.S. Gorbachev, he said, I would say to them: "At the next summit shake hands and continue the debate which appeared until the very last moment to be going so well in Reykjavik. Make the next meeting very soon."

The world is at the crossroads, (K.A. von Kbeyl) of the FRG evangelical church said. One road leads to progress and prosperity, the other to oblivion. We expect politicians to take sensible steps and correct, reasoned decisions. The guest criticized certain political steps by the Soviet Government in recent years, believing, for example, that the installation of medium-range missiles aimed at the NATO countries' European bases is a mistake which must be rectified.

Democratization, openness, and new thinking. These words appeared in Russian in the speeches by many forum participants. And there is nothing surprising in that: The participants in the natural scientists' "roundtable" showed an obvious interest in the changes in the life of Soviet society.

One indicator of these changes, D. Pike, deputy director of the Federation of American Scientists, said, is the presence of Academician A.D. Sakharov at this meeting. As was noted at the briefing, the academician saw the possibility of a nuclear-free world and advocated deep arms cuts on the basis of maintaining equilibrium in the nuclear disarmament process.

During the discussion of problems of the radical reduction of nuclear weapons as the first step on the path to their total destruction the idea was expressed of the possibility of unilateral disarmament without prejudicing one's own security. The advocates of this view justified their position by saying that there are vast stocks of nuclear weapons but they cannot be used anyway. They must be reduced stage by stage to the minimum, and then destroyed. But, as the Soviet scientist A.A. Kokoshin stressed, this will have to be done in different countries at once and at virtually the same instant.

The meeting participants were much more conscious of the possibility of the accidental outbreak of war. This is the biggest danger today.

Many participants in the debate, which took place in an atmosphere of constructive dialogue, agreed that the time has come to think about organizing an institute of European security.

The fact that scientists are discussing a scientifically substantiated proposal on using the nuclear fuel in missile warheads for peaceful purposes--to operate nuclear power stations--should be regarded as a convincing example of the new thinking. The possibility exists, but first it is necessary to agree on complete nuclear disarmament.

Journalists did not hear the forum debates because they were held behind closed doors. But the participants were willing to answer questions, both during the organized meetings and simply in the corridors.

Here are a few moments from the summaries of replies given by participants in the roundtable which brought together eminent scientists and political and public figures. They discussed ways of surviving in our interdependent world.

V.M. Falin, chairman of the NOVOSTI Board, USSR:

Time works against the interests of peace unless the maximum use is made of it to bring the sides' positions closer together. The prospects of agreement and peace depend not on the solution of details, but on the solution of the principal problems in the disarmament sphere. And this is a matter not only for the USSR and the United States, but for all states.

E. Bahr, member of the Social Democratic Party of Germany Board and Presidium and director of the Hamburg Institute of Problems of Peace and Security, FRG:

I am skeptical about the prospects of further results in the arms control sphere. Particularly in view of the fact that the Washington Administration will soon be surrendering power. We may see a situation where serious negotiations start again--with a new administration through. The arms race will continue in the meantime. It is purely my personal opinion, and I would be happy to find that I was mistaken.

M. Lesage, professor at Paris University, France:

The main task is not to accuse someone of creating tension, but to struggle together against the threat to peace. I am not an advocate of putting nuclear weapons in space. Then again, I am not in favor of accusations, but of a quest for solutions which will make it possible to halt the arms race and establish a climate of trust.

At a briefing for journalists Academician Ye. M. Primakov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of World Economics and International Relations, noted the generally constructive spirit of the debate, during which critical remarks were also made about the positions of the Soviet Union and the positions of the Western countries. In particular, views differed on the matter of interpretation of the ABM Treaty and on matters pertaining to the package of Soviet proposals in Reykjavik. Despite the differences, the academician stressed, everyone endeavored to find ways of bringing the positions closer together.

The scientists participating in the work of the roundtable on the theme of "Biology and Peace" discussed matters of paramount significance: ecology and the new political thinking, the shaping of ecological consciousness and culture, a strategy for survival, and the ecologization of mankind's entire life in conditions of peaceful development.

Kh. Khristov, director of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences Institute of Nuclear Research, noted that a world without nuclear weapons would be a tremendous relief for man and nature and for human thinking and would focus it on the really constructive tasks.

(Y.B. Opshor), director of the Institute of Ecological Research in the Netherlands, expressed a high opinion of serious scientific forecasts of the peaceful development of the planet and the consequences of nuclear war. An important service is being performed to mankind by the scientists who are researching seriously, on the basis of modern mathematical models both the specific manifestations of "nuclear winter" and those areas in which states should now be pooling their efforts in order to avoid a worldwide ecological crisis.

Soviet Academician N.N. Moiseyev's conclusion is that the world is very complex. For mankind to be able to survive and for man and the biosphere to be able to evolve, it is necessary to be clearly aware of the dangers scientific and technical progress poses for mankind.

The roundtable's work, as was noted at the briefing, consisted of frank and businesslike debates. The scientists expressed different viewpoints. Some of them said they had cooled somewhat toward nuclear energy following the Chernobyl events. But most of the participants concluded that in the immediate future mankind has no energy alternative to the development of nuclear energy.

The Moscow International Trade Center complex was the venue for the businessmen's roundtable. The meeting, whose slogan was "Problems of Peace

and Business Cooperation," was attended by more than 250 representatives of major concerns, firms, banks, foreign trade organizations, and chambers of commerce in 25 countries. The frank discussion centered on the problems and prospects of East-West economic cooperation and the role of business links in strengthening trust between states with different socioeconomic systems.

The participants in the roundtable debate did not conceal their interest in the current restructuring of our country's mechanism for managing foreign economic ties, seeing in this process major potential for expanding and deepening their firms' and companies' business links with Soviet enterprises and organizations. A typical example of this was the conversation with Mr G. Di Rosa, president of the large FATA Italian industrial group.

"FATA was the first Italian concern to conclude an agreement with the Soviet Union on organizing a joint enterprise," G. Di Rosa said. "In accordance with the contract, in two years' time the first products--industrial refrigeration chambers, freezers and equipment for them--will leave the plant in Volzhsk (Mari ASSR). As far as we know, the enterprise will be the biggest plant of its kind in Europe. Talks on this subject began three years ago. And following the restructuring of the foreign trade management system in the USSR the possibility arose of implementing the project within the framework of a joint enterprise. Following a careful study of the idea, it turned out that as well as supplying a large Soviet domestic market, there was the possibility of exporting some of the products to third countries. Of course, the quality would have to meet the requirements of the world market and prices would have to be competitive. The designers' intention is that the refrigeration equipment produced by the Volzhsk plant will be the most modern in the world by 1990."

"What brought you, a very busy man, to the Moscow forum 'For a Nuclear-free World and the Survival of Mankind'? I asked my interlocutor.

"This forum is very important," G. Di Rosa replied. "In fact, our roundtable was one of the most representative East-West business meetings. It was interesting to find out what businessmen from other countries thought about the problems of the day."

And here is the answer to the same question given by (M. DZH. Kallen), vice president of the U.S. Monsanto firm.

"We saw fit to reply in the affirmative to the invitation to attend the Moscow forum in view of our business relations with the Soviet Union of over 30 years' standing. Although the political atmosphere has by no means always been conducive to the development of this cooperation. Even now political relations between the United States and the USSR are not at a very high level. Nevertheless, our company considers it important to participate in the roundtable's work. The debates which have been taking place have been very fruitful and interesting," (M. Kallen) went on. "Indeed, until the Soviet Union announced its intention to set up joint enterprises by no means all business circles in the West were big supporters of the idea. Extra information was needed. And much was clarified during the exchange of views here."

Yes, in fact the changes taking place in our country are by no means to the liking of all Western businessmen. (Incidentally, at the Moscow forum the "dissatisfied" generally preferred to remain silent.) But as for cooperation, many companies realized long ago the advantage that can be gained from organizing business links with the USSR.

"What do you regard as the benefits of cooperation with the Soviet Union?" I asked (Kallen).

"In economics much depends on the way one looks at a particular phenomenon," the Monsanto representative said. "Take joint enterprises, for example. (Incidentally, at the moment our company is holding talks on the possible creation of such plants in the agrochemical sphere and in industrial rubber production.) The construction of such plants will require a great deal of investment. Naturally, it will be some years before we get a return. That is, cooperation with the USSR must be planned on a stable, long-term basis. This is Monsanto's approach to the implementation in the USSR of joint programs for testing U.S. techniques of raising grain crops. There are new possibilities in the offing. For example, in the biotechnology sphere."

The business roundtable continued until late in the evening, nearly 1 and 1/2 hours longer than scheduled. When they dispersed the businessmen were seen off by the bronze statue of Mercury--God of commerce and fleet-footed messenger of peace--which stands at the entrance to the International Trade Center.

#### SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA Report

PM191441 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 18 Feb 87 First Edition p 1

[Mikhail Ozerov commentary under rubric "Publicist's Reflections": "No to Nuclear Suicide"]

[Text] It was without doubt a very big event. A brilliant, major event. More than a thousand people from the most diverse countries gathered in the Grand Kremlin Palace on Monday, everyone in an elated mood. This mood had also united the forum participants in the two days prior to this, when the most important contemporary problems were discussed.

Now the forum is over. What kind of results were achieved? If they are to be summed up in one word we can say they were impressive. And this is no empty phrase. Those who took part in the sessions said from the rostrum and at press conferences, wrote in the press, and told their friends and acquaintances that the meetings in Moscow had been of great benefit. To whom and to what? To everyone who came to our country's capital and, the main thing, to the cause for the sake of which everyone gathered in the first place.

The main contradiction at present is the contradiction between war and peace, and it was with the aim of overcoming or at least diminishing this contradiction that this forum was held in Moscow. Not only political and state figures but also the international public can and must make a

substantial contribution to the fight for mankind's survival. That is why the participants in the meetings focused their efforts on attaining the noble aim of paramount importance contained in the forum title: "For a Non-nuclear World, for Mankind's Survival."

The same words--a "new approach"--kept coming up both at the sessions and in individual conversations. It is not surprising--the forum was different to previous international conferences and did not follow the traditional pattern of such meetings. There were no lists of speakers, no rigid agenda--anyone could talk about what they liked, with whom they liked, and as long as they liked. The work proceeded in the form of lively exchanges of opinion, debates, clashes, and polemics, that is, as one American guest emphasized, as an "informal conversation."

But, when our foreign interlocutors reflected on a "new approach," they were also envisaging the example of fundamentally different thinking being set by the Soviet Union and followed by more and more people throughout the world. The session participants rightly called the forum "new thinking in action."

We have met with Otto Wolf von Amerongen more than once on the banks of the Rhine. President of the FRG Trade and Industry Association and one of our country's oldest partners, he has usually been far more restrained. This time, however, he was full of enthusiasm:

"This has been an extremely interesting experiment. The forum provided an opportunity to get a better grasp of the situation and take a different view of many things. We have been hearing specific arguments rather than generalities. I am very enthusiastic!"

The discussions in Moscow showed that the restructuring of public awareness and the political course in the Soviet Union is arousing approval in various regions of the world. What is more, it is being emulated. Intelligent people on every continent no longer accept the philosophy that has evolved over the centuries which says: "If you want peace, prepare for war." More and more people are coming to understand that the world is indivisible, that the destinies of different peoples are now bound together in a single tight knot, and that in a nuclear war there can be no winner, only losers--all mankind.

Analyzing the essence of this, the forum participants reached the conclusion that attempts to gain military superiority are foolhardy. Of course, shaping and reinforcing new thinking is not easy and is meeting with bitter resistance from old reactionary forces, but the process of reappraising values is taking place without any doubt and the new thinking is becoming reality.

In the Soviet Union a different philosophy of international relations is no longer theory but real, daily practice. This was discussed in detail the day before yesterday by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in the Kremlin, the point being made that either political thinking comes into line with the demands of the time or civilization and life on earth could disappear. Our party's leader cited specific examples of the Soviet Union's new thinking. His statement of 15 January last year.... The unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions.... The far-reaching proposals made in Reykjavik.... Willingness

to totally eliminate chemical weapons.... New approaches to humanitarian problems....

The excited, interested reaction of those present at the forum and the attention with which they heard the speech convincingly showed that people with different political, ideological, and religious views and of different professions and ages were not in agreement. What is more, they were in agreement on the main point--the sincere desire to demolish the nuclear guillotine.

This was discussed by representatives of all eight "round tables"--the groups making up the forum--in the Grand Kremlin Palace. The same words were heard again and again from the rostrum: We must destroy nuclear weapons, we must prevent the militarization of space, everyone must fight for a calm and peaceful future.

This coincidence of viewpoints and beliefs was inspiring. It was also clearly apparent after the session in the Grand Kremlin Palace when, sharing their opinions on the speech they had just heard, people were unanimous in their verdict that it had been full of humanism.

"Mr Gorbachev is deeply devoted to the idea of peaceful coexistence. The same path must be followed by all senior statesmen in East and West if we are to avoid catastrophe," the American Professor J.K. Galbraith said.

Yes, the forum showed that representatives of different strata of the international public--scientists and politicians, doctors and writers, military personnel and members of the clergy--are in favor of suprapolitics rather than superarms. That is, politics capable of rising above individual interests and basing its actions on a common interest--lasting peace. Such a firm and united stand is a very important factor.

Another very important feature is that the forum helped to strengthen trust between people and peoples. The honest, open, at time even impartial exchange of opinions helped those present to understand one another better and explain their attitudes. This is quite essential today, because the edifice of international security can be built only if there is trust. Leaving Moscow, those who took part in the meetings will take the spirit of the forum with them and will, of course, spread its ideas and conclusions in their own countries, thereby developing trust and mutual understanding.

But, looking back over the past days, we will not present everything in a rosy light. Some people--and especially those across the ocean--tried very hard to prevent the Moscow meetings from being successful. Various circles in the United States--from State Department spokesmen to WASHINGTON POST observers--expressed their dissatisfaction with the events taking place in our country's capital. The reproaches were numerous but certainly not original--for example, "Russia is only trying for propaganda effect." True, other propaganda organs, some influential, took a different, albeit no less stereotyped tack: They kept quiet.

An even greater danger is posed by the practical steps being taken by the American administration. For example, the Soviet moratorium on nuclear explosions was very highly appraised at the forum, but the U.S. press reports that preparations are under way in the state of Nevada for another nuclear "salute".... Appeals for peace were heard across the world from the lips of those who participated in the discussions in Moscow, but across the ocean the slanderous serial "Amerika," in which the Russians invade the United States, is being shown to the accompaniment of an anti-Soviet drum roll....

Objective foreign political leaders and mass information media admit that none other than Washington is to blame for the fact that nuclear disarmament is marking time. It still does not wish to recognize the ambitious, extensive nature of the task now facing mankind. It also does not wish to understand that the new era also means new dimensions. For example, Hiroshima is no longer just the name of a city but also a measure of death. As many as 50,000 warheads are now concentrated in military hangars, which is equivalent to a million (!) Hiroshimas.

Consequently, the Soviet Union stubbornly and persistently works to demolish the pyramid of arms. And, as the Moscow forum showed, our country's approach to resolving this vital issue is finding broad support abroad. Even the American CBS television company has been forced to admit that "M.S. Gorbachev's speech was a clear exposition of his ideas on a world free of nuclear weapons" and that this speech made a great impression on "an unusual audience--about a thousand influential writers, businessmen, and scientists." The London GUARDIAN has said that the Soviet leader has given a timely warning to the American administration, which is drawing up plans to deploy the first echelon of SDI.

The foreign press also highly appraises the results of the sessions. We will cite just one example from the flood of responses--the French newspaper LE FIGARO. The newspaper, which is by no means sympathetic to socialism, points out that the forum took place without any unnecessary ostentation and made a great contribution to the antiwar movement of ordinary people. Reading these lines, I recalled the words of another long-standing acquaintance from the FRG--Egon Bahr. Summing up the results of the work done by the Moscow meetings, this prominent state and public figure, director of an institute for security problems, and member of the Social Democratic Party of Germany presidium, said:

"I am sure that the forum is only the beginning. The beginning of reaching greater mutual understanding between us all."

How well these assessments accord with the words spoken in the Kremlin by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, who called the forum a very major step "in the development of the social movement for a nuclear-free world and mankind's survival!" The general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee voiced the

hope that the seeds of good work sown by the session participants would bear fruit.

Yes, it was a brilliant, joyous event. And, the most important thing of all, it has very great significance for the fate of mankind and the future of every one of us.

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## RELATED ISSUES

### MOSCOW WEEKLY VIEWS 'MILITARY DIMENSION' OF EUREKA

Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 6, 17 Feb 87 pp 20-21

[Article by Vyacheslav Boykov, datelined Brussels: "A European SDI?"]

[Text] What shape will Eureka take? The question is far from irrelevant in the light of statements such as the following: "Europe deplorably missed a great opportunity when we omitted the military dimension from Eureka."

This opinion expressed by Etienne Davignon, former vice president of the Commission of the European Communities, and currently vice president of the Belgian company Societe Generale, is shared by many of the industrialists, bankers and military experts who attended a "professional" conference in Paris last November. The subject of the conference was reflected in its title: "Allied Defence Industry Cooperation: SDI and Beyond."

#### Transatlantic "Parities"

Speakers at the conference stressed that they were not satisfied with the present level of military cooperation in Western Europe. New "heights" were to be scaled to achieve close cooperation at every stage--from the drawing-board to the production of military hardware. Particular attention was paid to coordinating research. "We need to set up an advanced research agency for defence projects in Europe," said Jean-Louis Gergorin, vice president for corporate strategy at the French concern Matra. "A common European programme on key military technologies," he noted, "would be a major step toward closer military cooperation in Europe." Another representative of the French military industry, Francois Heisbourg, vice president of Thomson, proposed several projects. The first among them is to develop a European missile to replace the American Hawk missiles which form the basis of the European NATO countries' air defence. Such defence, he stressed, must be built by European industry with minimal U.S. participation.

The U.S. participants in the conference did not find this independent spirit congenial. Dennis Kloske, special adviser on armaments in the Department of Defence, urged European industrialists to concentrate on military cooperation within the NATO alliance. Support for military spending, he said, would fail if public opinion got the impression that the United States and Europe were rivals, not partners.

Ideas advanced at the Paris conference are supported not only by the business community, but by many politicians. The French Prime Minister Jacques Chirac, addressing the December session of the Western European Union, lamented the fact that Eureka was concentrated on civilian research. Lord Carrington, the NATO Secretary-General, suggested "creating European research and development centres in key sectors." His suggestions was backed by Italian Defence Minister Giovanni Spadolini. Minister of State for Foreign Affairs from the FRG, Mollemann, also spoke in favour of greater military integration.

The military integration of Europe is more than mere ideas and plans. A great deal has already been done both at transatlantic level, where the U.S. is leading the way, and in Europe, where France and the FRG are calling the tune. By cooperating with the Pentagon, European industrialists hope not only to line their pockets, but to gain access to up-to-date military technology. Their chances on the latter score are limited, however, as Washington has never displayed any eagerness to share its strategic secrets with its allies. Despite numerous hints, it has, for example, refused to let its NATO partners in on the technology of Stealth planes. There is little hope that the Pentagon will be generous in the future.

In making deals with Americans the captains of Western European industry are having to settle for a back seat. SDI is a vivid example. By agreeing to co-operate with the U.S. on this "defence" initiative, Western firms "have relegated themselves to the role of subcontractors," wrote the Belgian *Le Soir*. They are not happy about the prospect. In a NATO Review article on military-industrial cooperation in Europe Eduardo Serra Rexach, State Secretary at the Spanish Ministry of Defence, formulated the goal put forward by the architects of Europe's military integration thus: a united Europe must become an "equal of our transatlantic allies."

Hermes, Saenger et al.

To promote military cooperation an Independent European Programme Group was set up in 1976. The group, which now includes 13 West European NATO countries, concentrates on coordinating national aerospace programmes and working out standards and on cooperation in research and production.

Space programmes also promise huge profits to West European industrialists. In late October the European Space Agency approved a European space shuttle programme. Designed by the French firms Aerospatiale and Dassault, the mini-shuttle Hermes will be put into orbit by the Ariane-5 missile, which has for several years been used to launch satellites. Hermes, wrote the French *L'Express*, will be used for research as well as military purposes.

Even so, competition between West European concerns for space contracts is only beginning. First the British announced plans to build their national "space plane." In November the FRG followed suit. In an interview for *Sonntags Aktuell*, Minister of Research and Technology Heinz Riesenhuber announced that the FRG intended to devise its own space programme in addition to participating in the West European one. In 1996 it plans to launch its own spaceship, Saenger.

A far more lucrative project is West European anti-missile defence. Estimated at \$160 billion, it is drawing many military industrialists in Europe like a magnet. Washington, which first suggested the idea of backing up the American "space umbrella" with a West European anti-ballistic missile system, is adding fuel to the fire. A recent instance was the speech by James Abrahamson, director of the SDI programme, on a television bridge programme that linked Washington with some NATO capitals. He promised to share the new technology with the U.S. partners if they started building their own ABM system.

In December the U.S. made another handout to the allies. On his arrival in Brussels for the winter meetings with NATO colleagues, U.S. Defence Secretary Weinberger immediately called a press conference to announce that the Pentagon has earmarked \$14 million for the joint study of the idea of building a West European ABM system. Washington will place orders with 51 firms, of which 29 are in Western Europe. Stopping over in London, Caspar Weinberger handed the British another five contracts in connection with SDI research. Three of them are linked to the European SDI. The total value of the "British package" is \$8.7 million, a puny sum compared with the staggering cost of SDI and its European appendage. But these are just the seeds. If the West Europeans begin to grow them they will have to make far greater outlays.

Along with the Americans, the Defence Ministry and several military-industrial concerns in the FRG are actively advocating the idea of an anti-missile belt in Western Europe. The powerful pressure is beginning to yield fruit. The idea of Euro-SDI has made some headway among European industrialists, as witnessed by the -aris conference. This means that Eureka, Europe's prestigious project, may acquire a military slant.

Money, said Alexandre Dumas, is a good servant and a bad master. It exacts great sacrifices. In trying to get their own SDI and seeking to boost their profits, the military industrialists and officials are acting against the interests of Europe and the world. Rewording the quotation from Davignon cited above, it can be said that Europe would deplorably miss a great opportunity for peaceful progress if it added a military dimension to its scientific research and industrial development. It would also miss the opportunity to advance on the scientific and technological front that can be opened up by European cooperation in civilian areas.

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## RELATED ISSUES

### MOSCOW TV PANEL ON ASIA-PACIFIC SECURITY ISSUES

LD231620 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1615 GMT 19 Feb 87

["Resonance: For Peace and Security in Asia" program, presented by political observer Farid Mustafyevich Seyful-Mulyukov with Vladimir Mikhaylovich Vinogradov, member of the collegium of the USSR Foreign Ministry and RSFSR foreign minister; Mikhail Stepanovich Kapitsa, director of the Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies; Admiral Nikolay Nikolayevich Amelko, representative of the Defense Ministry; and Vsevolod Vladimirovich Ovchinnikov, PRAVDA political observer]

[Excerpts] [Seyful-Mulyukov] Hello, esteemed viewers. [Seyful-Mulyukov shown standing before a map of Asia and the Pacific] We meet with you once again in the television studio where the live program "Resonance" is about to begin. The subject that we present for discussion today is the problems of peace and security in Asia -- that immense mass of land and people occurring one-third of the earth's land area and containing more than two-thirds of all humanity. Asia is a continent of great civilizations. Its peoples have enriched world progress with their unique experience of struggle for freedom and independence, and the renaissance of Asia is exerting a growing influence both on the world economy and on world politics. It is in that part of the world that, through the fault of the U.S. neoglobalists, the hotbeds of military tension remain unextinguished -- from the Korean Peninsula to Kampuchea, Afghanistan and the Near East. Dragged into the maelstrom of the ruinous arms race are countries that are suffering from bitter need and hunger.

Asia today is not protected by an impenetrable wall from the alarms and worries of the rest of the world. The threat of nuclear conflagration, which had reduced Hiroshima and Nagasaki to ashes, is knocking at the doors of Asian homes, too. The path of the atomic bomb, Jawaharlal Nehru said at the dawn of the nuclear age, does not lead to peace or freedom. Many years later, the leaders of two friendly states signed in the Indian capital the Delhi Declaration, which brings together our philosophical and political approaches toward building a nuclear-free and nonviolent world with the approaches of the great India and the billions of people represented by the Nonaligned Movement. As was shown by the international forum in Moscow, in which authoritative representatives of Asia took part, those ideas are becoming the sign of our times. For every person and for every nation this begins at the threshold of their homes.

More than one-third of Asia is in the territory of the Soviet Union. At the 27th party congress, and afterwards in the speech by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in Vladivostok and in his speeches in India, a comprehensive program of struggle to ensure peace, security, and cooperation in Asia and the Pacific basin was developed. The situation in those regions, as you will understand, represents a national, a state interest for our country.

Now I should like to introduce to you those taking part today in our television program "Resonance." [Seyful-Mulyukov walks across the studio to take his seat at the table where the panel is seated, and he introduces each in turn as the camera shown them in close-up.]

Vladimir Mikhaylovich Vinogradov, member of the collegium of the USSR Foreign Ministry and RSFSR foreign minister. Comrade Vinogradov has been our country's ambassador to Japan, Egypt, and Iran, and was a USSR deputy foreign minister.

Mikhail Stepanovich Kapitsa, director of the Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies. For many years Comrade Kapitsa was engaged in diplomatic work as the Soviet ambassador to Pakistan and as the USSR deputy foreign minister.

Admiral Nikolay Nikolayevich Amelko, representative of the Defense Ministry. Nikolay Nikolayevich has been commander of the Red Banner Pacific Fleet, deputy commander in chief of the USSR Navy, and deputy chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces.

Vsevolod Vladimirovich Ovchinnikov, PRAVDA political observer. For a number of years he was the newspaper's correspondent in Japan, China, and Britain.

Esteemed viewers, you can dial any of the telephone numbers shown here [screen shows list of numbers], and those taking part in our program "Resonance" will answer the questions that interest you. While our comrades are receiving their first few questions and sorting them out by subject, here is a brief video for you to watch to remind you what has happened in the past, and what is happening now in that region. [5-minute video overlaid with announcer-read commentary recalls the U.S. atomic bombing of Japanese cities and the resulting destruction; U.S. military action in Korea and Vietnam; U.S. military presence in the Pacific -- specifically Diego Garcia and the Philippines; the Iran-Iraq war which "is being fueled by U.S. military supplies to Iran"; and the French nuclear tests on Muroroa Atoll]

The video you have just been watching has, as it were, introduced us to the subject and enabled us to feel what the situation was like in the past and what the current situation is in the Asian-Pacific region.

The first questions have already come in from our viewers. To begin with, I have selected this question from engineer Viktor Zaytsev in Tambov: Asia is an ocean of the most varied states, a continent of conflicts. How can a common denominator for all these countries be found in questions of security and peace? How is the Soviet Union action to construct the foundations of security in Asia?

Mikhail Stepanovich, that's not only a philosophical question, but a topical political one. Could you reply, please?

[Kapitsa] Mankind has accumulated a great deal of experience in solving complicated world problems. Eleven years ago there was the Helsinki conference at which a very important declaration was adopted: the Final Act of the all-European conference on security and cooperation in Europe. Whatever happens in Europe, Europe nonetheless lives in accordance with that Act. The European process is continuing: Conferences are held on the question of detente, humanitarian cooperation, economic cooperation, and cultural links. Couldn't that experience be transferred to Asia and the Pacific basin? After all, in Asia there have been more wars than anywhere else since the WW II. It can be transferred and the Soviet Union is of the opinion that real opportunities for this exist.

The 27th party congress, the speech by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in Vladivostok, and his speech to the Indian Parliament last November outlined a broad program of struggle for security and cooperation in the Asian-Pacific region.

Sometimes we are asked why the Soviet Union embarked on this, because the Soviet Union is both an Asian and a European country, and it would be better, they say, if the purely Asian countries involved themselves in this. Mikhail Sergeyevich gave a very good reply to this in Vladivostok: We are not pursuing any selfish aims; we are not thinking of our security alone. We are also an Asian country -- two-thirds of our territory is in Asia -- and we are convinced that if what we have managed to do so far in Europe is to triumph in Asia, and if the whole Eurasian continent was to become a zone of security and international cooperation, then this would have a decisive influence on the world situation as a whole.

Another thing they say is that in Europe it was easier to do that. In Asia there are considerably more questions: virtually every country has complex problems. It's true -- there are more problems in Asia. It took 11 years to prepare for the European conference. But let's say that in Asia it would take 15-20 years: Does that mean that nothing should be done? On the contrary, right now we need to embark on solving the problem before fresh conflicts break out in Asia and whole mountains of weapons are stockpiled.

What do we propose to do? We propose action in three directions, as it were: The first direction is imparting greater dynamism to bilateral and multilateral regional relations between states. What I have in mind is that in the course of these relations, disputed issues would be settled, and trust would grow. The second direction is settlement of situations of conflict -- settlement in such a way as to guarantee the right of the peoples concerned to a choice, a choice of social system and a choice of friends. As soon as this principle is recognized by all, it will not be difficult to resolve all the situations of conflict that are occurring at the moment in Asia. The third direction is reduction of military confrontation, the elimination of military confrontation, the reduction of armies and fleets, implementation of confidence-building measures, guarantees for safety of communications, and a whole range of other measures.

By moving in these three directions, the states of Asia and the Pacific would at some point in history, say in 20 years' time, arrive at a situation where an atmosphere will have been created making it possible to convene an Asian-Pacific Helsinki conference and draft a code of behavior for the countries of Asia and the Pacific. The task is not an easy one, it will require a good deal of time, but the Soviet leadership is convinced that the peoples of Asia and the Pacific are up to this task.

[Seyful-Mulyukov] Thank you. Comrade Solovyev, Vladimir Yakovlevich, a retired colonel from Feodosiya, has asked the following question: I have read that our proposals for creating a security system in Asia and the Pacific have met with a cool reception in Tokyo and some other capitals. What is behind this?

Vsevolod Vladimirovich, before you start answering this question, I would like to quote the words of Japanese Prime Minister Nakasone. Comparing the problems of security in Europe and in Asia, he said: In European printings, all the details are depicted, and very little is left to the imagination. In Japanese printings, the empty spaces are what determine the meaning, and so you need imagination, which acquires decisive significance. Vsevolod Vladimirovich, you are an expert on Japan, and for many readers and viewers your book "The Cherry Branch" [Vetka Sakury] has become a kind of encyclopedia of the Japanese character. Over to you.

[Ovchinnikov] Well, first of all, I would like to express complete agreement with what Mr Nakasone said, as far as the canons of Western and Oriental art are concerned. But to employ this metaphor, I think that the Soviet initiatives could, in fact, be compared to an oriental painting where the artist leaves everyone wide scope to think things through.

[Seyful-Mulyukov] Leaves something to the imagination?

[Ovchinnikov] To the imagination. That is, the Soviet Union is not trying to impose on anyone its own formula for pan-Asian security. It does not have any ready recipe, nor any magic key. The essence of the Soviet initiatives is an invitation for a joint search; may the formula for pan-Asian security be the fruit of joint efforts and a reflection of everybody's interests. In fact, the direction for moving toward this aim, which was sketched out in Vladivostok, is just an outline, and, just as there is on the scroll of an Oriental artist, there is enough free space there. Thus we await counterinitiatives; we expect other proposals. I repeat: We expect joint work. If we can go from the canons of art to the prose of politics, then official Tokyo probably has quite definite grounds or motives for such a negative attitude.

The way they reason ther is this: Moscow, they say, is talking about an Asiatic Helsinki, but Helsinki is the collective reaffirmation of postwar borders, so what about Japanese territorial claims that the Soviet Union rejects? This can hardly be sufficient grounds to brush aside such a broad theme as pan-Asian security, which is vitally important for all.

I also would like to mention errors of another kind that stem from the fact that the term security is unilaterally interpreted, as if it concerned only military security is unilaterally interpreted, as if it concerned only military security, as if to say that the Soviet Union wanted to draw the countries of the region into some kind of Asian-Pacific pact, to make allies of them in its conflict with Washington. There also have been some people in countries such as India to whom the question has occurred whether this is in keeping with the principle of nonalignment, with a nonbloc policy. I think that following the high-level Soviet-Indian talks, such unclear matters have been eliminated. It was stressed that the point is not by any means about a mechanical translation of the Helsinki scheme to Asian soil, but about more vigorously implementing the principles that once were elaborated by the Asian peoples themselves, drawing on the experience of Europe. I would like to recall the words of Rajiv Gandhi: He said that the principles of Panca Sila, of Bandung, of nonalignment, which the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee referred to in Vladivostok provide a legal and political framework for analysis of the complex and particular problems of peace and security in the Asian-Pacific region. Thus, as has just been noted at the Moscow forum, in Vladivostok we invited the countries of Asia and Africa [as heard] to a joint search for security for each and all.

[Seyful-Mulyukov] Incidentally, when issues of European security were being discussed at the Moscow forum, someone suggested establishing an institute to study the whole spectrum of security problems. To begin with, it would not be at all bad to create such an institute in Asia, where competent scientists, politicians, and military figures could consider in general the creation of a secure and peaceful house for the whole of the Asian Continent.

Let us go on to other questions. A viewer, Dr Dmitriy Avramovich Dorogan from Dnepropetrovsk, asks: The Soviet Union has proposed starting talks on reducing numbers of warships in the Pacific and Indian Oceans.

What situation has formed in the sea lanes? This is your field Nikolay Nikolayevich, please carry on.

[Amelko] Yes, it is evidently for me. In fact, yes, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev proposed in his Vladivostok speech, alongside a cardinal reduction of fleets in the Pacific Ocean zone, that we start with something small, with security of communications. First of all, one should point out that shipping lanes, freight by sea, is the cheapest means, and in this region they occupy quite a broad amount of space, and there is a great deal of transport traffic there. Suffice it to say that every day about 400 vessels cross the East China Sea. In the same time frame there are about 2,500 vessels crossing the Indian Ocean. There is no doubt that this is of great importance to all countries of the region, and I should point out that for the Soviet Union this is, in essence, the only year-round passage from the European part to the Far East.

Security of this shipping is indubitably of colossal importance. Are there any reasons for concern about this shipping? Yes, with doubt. The activities of fleets in the region, and of the U.S. Navy, in particular -- the U.S. 7th Fleet based in the Western Pacific -- hamper this shipping and represent a certain danger. Let me give an example: all exercises held there definitely force ships to avoid the area; the closing of an area and firing practice interrupt the normal activities of vessels carrying national economic cargoes and other necessary materials, especially oil, which Japan, in particular, uses. Indeed, the tankers are going mainly to Japan and this is the cheapest means of transport. Suffice it to say that a modern tanker can carry up to 20 trainloads, heavy trainloads of 5,000 metric tons, there is concern.

Take the annual exercises called Team Spirit that the U.S. Armed Forces carry out in South Korea, the Korean Strait, and the Sea of Japan, in which a large number of ships and aircraft take part. For example, the naval forces of the United States, Japan Australia, Canada, and Britain had up to 60 ships taking part in the Western Pacific in the last exercises in 1986. There were 2 aircraft carrier strike groups, 3 amphibious assault landing groups, and up to 250 aircraft. There were also the (Kayam) exercises, the Japanese naval forces together with the U.S. 7th Fleet based in the Philippines and Japan. Up to 100 vessels take part, including an aircraft carrier strike group from the 7th Fleet and an operational group of missile ships. These exercises are held in central Japan. The purpose of all these exercises is provocative, to create tension and to intimidate countries in the region that are in favor of a nuclear-free zone and the elimination of the bases, of establishing neighborliness and respecting the sovereignty of these countries. These exercises interfere with normal shipping.

In his speech to Indian MP's, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev also noted maritime terrorism, and not without grounds. May I cite several examples of this, as well. On 20 March 1984, our Soviet tanker "Lugansk" was blown up by a mine in Nicaragua. On 9 July 1984 the "MV Knud Jespersen" hit a mine in the Red Sea. On 2 September 1986, the "MV Petr Yemtsov" was fired on by an Iranian warship and a shell hit its bow. Finally, the most recent example: on 6 February 1987, in the South China Sea, a U.S. Orion aircraft made three passes over our vessel the Akademik Shikalskiy at an altitude of 40 meters -- that is, almost catching the mast. There are many such examples; in 2 years alone we have registered 179 passes by U.S. aircraft over Soviet merchant vessels and 39 dangerous maneuvers by warships in the vicinity of our vessels. This is terrorism. Thus, there is no doubt that the proposal forwarded by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to reduce military activities of fleets in the region has a direct bearing on the safety of merchant shipping and on the reduction of tension in the region. This would seem to be a brief answer to the question the comrade has asked.

[Kapitsa] I have several questions here. Vadim Yurgevich Leonov, from Lipetsk, asks what the relations are like between China and the Soviet Union. Viktor Alekseyevich Yakov from Chelyabinsk asks: Please tell us in detail about China's attitude to the Soviet Union's moratorium on nuclear explosions. Viktor Dmitriyevich Bogomolov asks: What border questions does China have with the Soviet Union? Could you go into this in some detail, please? I have another question here. [Kapitsa puts this question aside]

The situation on the border is calm overall. As far as the positions of the sides on international questions are concerned, there are individual issues and there are problems of relations with certain countries on which our positions do diverge. For example, the Afghan problem, the Cambodian problem, the problem of who bears the responsibility for the arms race -- the Chinese concept is that both superpowers bear almost the same degree of responsibility for the arms race. At the same time, one can trace a growing proximity in the positions of the Soviet Union and China toward the struggle for peace and international security. For example, China has stated that it will make no first use of nuclear weapons and that in no way, under no circumstances, will it use nuclear weapons against a state that does not possess them. As everybody knows, our position is the same. China is in favor of disarmament and, as a first step, a 50 percent reduction in the arms of the Soviet Union and the United States. That in fact coincides with our position. China is in favor of a reduction in tension in the Pacific, and so are we. China is in favor of a nuclear-free zone in Korea, and our position is the same. China is expressing concern at the accelerated militarization of Japan; we also are concerned that Japan is increasing its expenditure on military requirements and is stepping up its arms buildup.

In this regard, replying to one of the questions, I would like to mention that the Chinese side welcomed the Soviet moratorium, the unilateral ceasing of atomic tests by the Soviet Union. It regrets that there has been no response to that moratorium and that tests will be resumed. As far as China is concerned, it has not carried out any nuclear tests for some time.

Now, one more question about the territorial problem: talks were held between the Soviet Union and China on the border question from 1969 through 1978. Those talks did not result in anything, because the sides argued about whether or not there were any disputes about the Soviet-Chinese border. The Chinese side states that there are disputes -- the territories which they say the Soviet Union is retaining outside treaty limits. The Soviet Union states that there are no disputes. It is a fact that the border treaties were signed over 100 years ago. In a number of areas no border demarcation was drawn. Some natural events took place, and apparently in some individual places there are deviations from the treaty border, the historical border. The natural thing to do -- and this is our position -- would be for both sides to check the border. Wherever it seems that we have crossed the borderline, then by all means we are ready to go back to the treaty border; and wherever the Chinese side has deviated from the border, well then, it will have to go back to the treaty border. We are of the opinion that given good will, agreement can be reached on this, particularly as both China and the Soviet Union are socialist states. Surely we are not going to argue about this?

Finally, I would like to add that a few days ago talks began in Moscow: the first round of fresh talks on border questions started. Now that round is coming to an end. The talks are of a closed nature, Thus, I am not going to comment on them now, but the position of the Soviet Union is that it would be very useful if we managed to remove the so-called territorial dispute from the relations between the Soviet Union and China.

[Seyful-Mulyukov] Excuse me, but we are very short on time; we are getting a vast quantity of questions on various aspects of Asiatic-Pacific security, So I ask you to make your replies to the questions very brief.

[Kapitsa] All right. A question from Aleksandr Fedorovich Mukhin: There are periodical armed clashes on the PRC-SRV border, instigated by China. What claims does Vietnam make against China, and what is China trying to achieve by making armed attacks on Vietnam?

In 1979, there were very serious armed confrontations on the border between China, when Chinese troops crossed the borders and waged military operations in a number of northern provinces of Vietnam. Since then there have been clashes on the border from time to time. The Chinese side says that the Vietnamese border troops cross the border in various places and are the instigators of the clashes. The Vietnamese comrades say that there are no violations of the border by them and that, on the contrary, Chinese units have occupied various segments of Vietnam's territory and that China embarks on military and political pressure on Vietnam, especially when combat operations are being stepped up against the Pol Pot men on Cambodian territory. Our position is that the sides -- all the more so since they are socialist states -- China and Vietnam should settle their disputes by peaceful means. Vietnam has repeatedly expressed readiness to enter into talks, and we have more than once called upon both sides to sit down at the negotiating table and settle the problems they have.

[Seyful-Mulyukov] Thank you. Comrades, I recall that there are several questions on Japan.

[Ovchinnikov] Yes, I have several questions, all from Muscovites. German Mikhaylovich Borisov asks what is hindering the conclusion of a peace treaty with Japan; Aleksandr Nikolayevich Sencho asks: A Northern Territories Day has been held in Japan -- what is the aim of staging it; what are its organizers trying to achieve? Comrade Zharkov asks: What is our government doing in response to the campaign to revise Soviet frontiers on Tokyo's part?

What hinders conclusion of a peace treaty with Tokyo? It is the unfounded territorial claims of the Japanese side. What are the organizers of the so-called Northern Territories Day trying to achieve? To put it very briefly, they are first and foremost trying to achieve consolidation, I think, of public opinion on a nationalistic, chauvinistic basis, as if to say, let us forget social and class contradictions -- this is what should unite us. The whole Northern Territories Day campaign is nothing new, but what draws our attention at the moment is the background against which this year the Northern Territories Day was held on 7 February. What is the political context? All this is taking place at the very time that Japan has overstepped an important psychological barrier in building up its military potential. It has gone beyond the traditional limit of 1 percent of the gross national product which used to restrain growth of its military budget. It must be said that 1 percent is no small matter, either, because Japan's gross national product is very large, and 1 percent amounts to \$22,000 million. If I am not mistaken, that is comparable to the size of the military budgets of Britain, France and the FRG, for example.

In addition, since the Japanese gross national product is growing quickly, Japan has been stepping up its military budget in recent years at a rate of 6 or 7 percent a year, while the United States has not been able to get a 3 percent growth from its NATO allies. But now these restrictions have been cast aside. Therefore, the military

budget will be able to grow at an even faster rate. At the same time, last autumn Japan joined in with the U.S. Star Wars program, joined in with SDI, despite the three nonnuclear principles, despite parliamentary resolutions on the use of space for peaceful purposes only.

Finally, this year there have been major joint maneuvers with all three arms of the armed forces taking part, U.S.-Japanese maneuvers, that is, the integration of the armed forces of the two countries is being speeded up, as is standardization of combat technology, of administration, and so on. That is, we can see that the territorial claims, which are in essence of a revanchist nature, the demands for a revision of the postwar borders, are made against the background of a buildup of military potential, and, as you can understand, politically this is a very serious matter.

Well, what is our government undertaking? First of all, we consider this policy unrealistic, this placing of unfounded territorial claims to our country. We feel that it is not sensible to make the development of political, trade, economic and all other ties dependent upon this artificial issue. We say that if the Japanese side is not presently prepared to sign a peace treaty with the Soviet Union, let us for now put those aspects of our relations that have matured on a treaty basis, a legal basis. We propose concluding a treaty on neighborliness and cooperation, without touching on disputed issues for now, so to speak. The Japanese side is not agreeable to this.

Comrade Gennadiy Riskin asks us to speak in greater detail about plans for the militarization of space as it concerns Asia. Well, first of all, one must speak here, of course, about Japan's participation in the U.S. Star Wars program. As I have already said, this contradicts the Japanese Constitution and the three nonnuclear principles, and, at the moment, the Japanese ruling circles are having a very difficult time wriggling out of this. For example: They say, well, the three nonnuclear principles -- not producing, acquiring or importing nuclear weapons -- concern Japan and its national territory, but that the Star Wars program is in space, beyond the borders of Japan, and thus the three nonnuclear principles do not apply in this matter. Then they cite some ridiculous arguments to the effect that the Star Wars program is not a nuclear program. But when people say, what about the nuclear-pumped laser?

They reply that nuclear weapons are weapons that destroy and kill by the direct force of a nuclear explosion, but in the case of SDI, the energy of the nuclear explosion will be transformed into laser beams, and it is these that will strike the target. It turns out that the rifle has nothing to do with the bullets that do the killing. So there are many points of confrontation in this area between the peace-loving public of Japan and the position of the official circles.

Finally, there are other, economic, disputed aspects, because of course the United States wants to involve the scientific-technological and industrial potential of Japan in implementing the Star Wars program but does not want Japan to have use of the scientific-technological achievements that will crystallize from this program for its own civilian needs. Of course, this does not suit the Japanese, so the talks on the specific conditions for the participation of Japan in SDI are undergoing a very difficult time.

[Seyful-Mulyukov] Thank you. Nikolay Nikolayevich, I have passed you a number of questions concerning purely military affairs. Please answer them briefly.

[Amelko] Certainly. Comrade Ovechin, Vladimir Vasiliyevich, a foreman from Krasnyy (?Kut), Kharkov Oblast, asks: Do any Asian countries possess submarines with nuclear warheads?

Well, as you know, the U.S. 7th Fleet is based in Asia, the western part of the Pacific and include atomic submarines of the Los Angeles type, which carry Tomahawk cruise missiles with a strike range of 2,600 km; and these missiles can be used with nuclear warheads. You have asked me to brief, and so...

[Seyful-Mulyukov, interrupting] I did not ask, Nikolay Nikolayevich; they ask us to be brief on television.

[Amelko] The United States has aircraft carriers in commission; but our country is putting large antisubmarine ships into service. What is the difference? How do they differ? This is asked by Comrade Aleksandr Vasilyevich Dolgikh from Kharkov, a driver.

Yes, the U.S. Navy today has 20 strike aircraft carriers. What is a strike aircraft carrier, in general? It is a floating airfield, with a displacement of 96,000 tonnes and carrying up to 100, or rather, 90 aircraft, of which 40 can carry nuclear weapons.

The Soviet Union has no aircraft carriers, but there are ships carrying aircraft. The latest books and brochures from Voenizdat [military publishing house] and APN publishers cite specific figures -- that the Soviet Union has six aircraft-carrying ships, as we call them. What is the difference between them? In the first place, these are smaller ships, and with a completely different purpose from strike aircraft carriers. They are intended for destroying ships near the shore, especially when assault troops are being sent out, for protecting our sea lanes, and for antisubmarine action. Incidentally, the United States has 12 such aircraft-carrying ships. The British also have such aircraft-carrying ships, of the Invincible type, 20,000 tonners, which also carry helicopters and vertical takeoff aircraft.

The next question: I have read in the papers that the Americans, the United States, are forcing Japan to expand its Navy, that they will patrol and defend zones thousands of miles from Japan. I would like to know how our country regards this matter. This question is from someone who is almost my namesake, Yevgeniy Ivanovich Amelkin.

Our attitude to this is a negative one. It is well-known that Japan's naval forces are being reborn, and reborn on a new technical basis. They already include about 15 submarines, more than 30 destroyers and frigates, including some with guided missiles, and they, as I have already said, hold joint exercises to practice strikes against the territory of the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist camp, among other things, from the sea.

There follows a question: What are we using to counter the U.S. armada at sea? Does our fleet have bases outside Soviet territories? The question come from (?Loginsk), from Vladimir Gavrilovich Baykuber.

[Seyful-Mulyukov] We have a similar question from Aleksey Ivanovich Postnikov from Moscow.

[Amelko] The fact of the matter, dear comrade viewers, is that every country builds its navy in accordance with its doctrine and its policy. As is known, the Soviet Union's doctrine is a defensive one; hence, the Navy has a role of defending our territory and that of the countries in the socialist camp from the direction of the

sea. For that reason, the composition of our fleet is intended primarily to destroy the threat that exists from the sea. If the United States constantly keeps two, and sometimes more, aircraft carrier strike forces off the shores of Japan, and keeps naval bases in Japan and the Philippines, we must correspondingly take appropriate steps to neutralize this threat.

The difference in the structure and the structural orientation of the fleet is that for our country we have a purely defensive one for destroying the sea threat, while for the Americans the opposite is the case. Their fleet is characterized by the fact that all aircraft carrier strike forces and the submarines with cruise missiles are intended primarily to inflict blows on land, on shore installations. It should also be mentioned that the so-called amphibious forces are very developed in the U.S. fleet. They are included for direct disembarkation onto the shore and for seizing territory. The Americans have 200,000 Marines, and the amphibious forces can move and simultaneously land up to one division of Marines onto a beach -- that is more than 40,000 men. It is quite natural that the Soviet Union must be at sea at the place from where the threat of these strike forces -- which are intended and are capable of striking against our territory and our shore installations -- comes.

Of late there has been a great deal of talk in the Western press, both in the United States and in Japan, about an increase in our Pacific naval fleet, about how it can go to sea and about its aggressiveness. Of course, these insinuations are not backed up by fact. Beyond dispute, it has increased incredibly in the last 20 years; it would, of course, be naive to keep for 20 years the ships we had then. Naturally, the Armed Forces, and the Navy in particular, are given quite definite tasks in defending our state, and the fleet develops in accordance with the development both of our economy and our capabilities. The Pacific Fleet is given new ships capable of neutralizing the threat from the sea. There is the reply, in brief.

The last question I have is an unusual one. Excuse me, Comrade Baykuber asked another question that I have not answered: whether there are bases outside the limits of Soviet territory. The question also has been made moot in the Western press of late, especially the Japanese press, due to reports on a super powerful naval base in Vietnam, at Cam Ranh Bay, which is supposed to be able to cut off all sea lanes and close all straits. Well, in the first place, there is no naval base capable either of cutting off sea lanes or closing straits. This is done by the forces at the base.

At Cam Ranh we have no naval base in the accepted sense of one with a full infrastructure. We have a material-technical supply point there, where our ships can and do call to take on water and food, buy vegetables and other produce from the Vietnamese, and to continue on their way, or perhaps to make minor repairs using their own facilities. This is no Subic Bay -- in the Philippines there is a U.S. naval base with both weapons stores and big repair enterprises and docks, and they have rented territory which Filipinos are not allowed to enter. At Cam Ranh, our ships lie alongside Vietnamese ships when they call, and it is used jointly. We quite legitimately call it a material-technical supply point. I should add that when the Americans were settling the issue of building a naval base in the Indian Ocean, one senator stated that it is no good if the U.S. aircraft carrier Constellation makes almost a round-the-world voyage in order to get to the Indian Ocean. However, it is about 7,500 km from Vladivostok to the Indian Ocean, but only 5,000 km from Subic Bay to the Indian Ocean. Apart from this, the U.S. ships fuel up in Singapore and Colombo, leaving them, in essence, something like 1,500 to 2,000 km. That is, they consider that this is necessary and indispensable for them, but the Soviet Navy has no need for it, and this is a violation that supposedly destabilizes the situation there. These are insinuations, pure and simple, and do not correspond to reality.

[Seyful-Mulyukov] Thank you. Mikhail Stepanovich, you have a question there about our country's intention to withdraw some of our forces from Mongolia. Could you answer that question, please?

[Kapitsa] Comrade Viktor Ivanovich Tomachev asks: The Soviet Union and Mongolia have agreed on the withdrawal of a considerable part of the Soviet contingent from Mongolia. What is the reason for this? Here is another question asking which of the Western powers asked the Soviet Union to do this.

None of the Western powers asked us to do this. The Soviet Union and Mongolia are of the opinion that at the present time they can withdraw part of the Soviet forces from Mongolia and that this will not diminish their security. That decision dovetails with the course of the Soviet Union, stated by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in Vladivostok, aimed at reducing the armies in the Far East and Asia.

[Amelko] And the Navy.

[Kapitsa] And the Navy, of course. The second question I have here is about the relations between North and South Korea and the prospects for those relations. The question has been asked by Comrade (Bakhaterad Omarufu). The relations at the moment are bad, and because of this the Korean peninsula is one of the most acute points -- I would say the most acute, because if a conflict breaks out there tomorrow, it may turn out to be a nuclear one from the very start. In South Korea there are 40,000 U.S. soldiers, and 1,000 nuclear weapons are stationed there -- both nuclear-capable aircraft and the recently stationed Lance missiles, which are capable of carrying nuclear warheads over a distance of 250 km.

North Korea is ready to hold talks with the United States and South Korea. North Korea has proposed a number of options for troop reductions, the setting up of a confederation, but it all depends now on the Americans.

First the Americans should start withdrawing their troops from South Korea; second, the Americans should enter talks with the PDRK -- and South Korea can take part in those talks -- on the signing of a peace treaty on Korea. Finally, the atmosphere would be created for bilateral talks between North and South Korea on the possible creation in the future of the Democratic Republic of Korea.

[Seyful-Mulyukov] Thank you. Vesvolod Vladimirovich, an interesting question has come in from Vladimir Kuzmich Golovko in Moscow. What is the world reaction to the Rarotonga Treaty? That exotic island in the group of Cook Islands in the southern Pacific, known possibly only to geography lovers, now has become known to all. Why is that? Only briefly, you've got 2 minutes.

[Ovchinnikov] The treaty is a very interesting example of a promising trend of the practical implementation of the idea of setting up nuclear-free zones. A group of states in the southern Pacific signed the treaty proclaiming the region a nuclear-free zone, and they asked the nuclear powers to sign the protocols to the treaty. The first protocol concerned those powers that possess or which have some involvement in the running of certain territories in the southern Pacific. The second protocol concerned the pledge by which every nuclear power would respect the status of the nuclear-free zone, in other words not use nuclear weapons against the states in that zone. Finally, the third protocol related to not conducting nuclear tests and the pledge not to bury radioactive waste.

The Soviet Union was the first state to sign the second and third protocols to the Rarotonga treaty, and afterward these protocols were signed by China, but quite recently the United States stated that it would not sign the protocols. This might seem strange, because the United States does not carry out nuclear tests there at the moment: as everyone knows, it carries out its underground nuclear tests at a test site in Nevada. But the U.S. Government said that signing those protocols, in other words affirming by those protocols the status of the nuclear-free zone in the southern Pacific, would be contrary to U.S. national security interests. To put it simply, Washington is afraid that the nuclear allergy, in other words the growth of antinuclear sentiments, the distaste for nuclear weapons, the spreading of the example set by New Zealand, which has refused to allow ships carrying nuclear weapons or ships with nuclear-powered engines into its ports, and the growing antinuclear mood in the Philippines -- that all this will gain in momentum and will encroach on the interests of the Pentagon.

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## RELATED ISSUES

### SOVIET TALK SHOW: MOSCOW PEACE FORUM, INDIAN OCEAN

LD222112 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1230 GMT 22 Feb 87

[*"International Observers Roundtable"* with moderator Vitaliy Sergeyevich Sobolov, all-union radio commentator, Nikolay Ivanovich Yefimov, first deputy chief editor of *IZVESTIYA*, and Georgiy Aleksandrovich Kuznetsov, deputy chief editor of *ZARUBEZHOM*]

[Excerpt] [Sobolev] Hello, Comrades! A few days ago in Moscow, an American who at one time planned nuclear strikes against our country, on this occasion discussed with colleagues from various countries, including Soviet republics, how to evade the nuclear threat to the United States, the USSR, and the whole world. Moreover, he managed to come to an understanding with his interlocutors on the need to do away with nuclear weapons and on other problems, and some former NATO generals were busy doing the same. The turn-about in these people's consciousness, as in many others, in my opinion, is a remarkable phenomenon: It is the triumph of the new approach to the issue of how the world should be, a corroboration of politics based on norms of morality common to all mankind, or, in short, new thinking. At the Moscow forum people met, people who are famous throughout the world and who have, so to speak, a basis to strongly influence public opinion and who hold various ideological opinions. This forum showed that new thinking is not words; it is not an appeal; it is not a dream; it is, as they say, a matter at hand.

If one is to speak frankly, then, for example, the words of U.S. Professor Galbraith about the fact that in the face of the nuclear threat we are all -- even ideological opponents -- on one side of the negotiating table, these words are not that simple and easy to take in, even for us. In order to become aware of the reality of the nuclear age, it is necessary to carry out what is known as a good deal of mental work. This work, as the forum has shown, is being carried out throughout the world. The forum itself was a site for this work. This is why, I think, that there wasn't an observer in the world who did not attach due significance to this meeting of over a thousand politicians, scientists, writers, and artists in Moscow. No one succeeded in hampering the meeting, although very serious attempts were made to do so, nor did anyone succeed in disparaging its results. For the time being they are still trying to garble its contents, and are doing so very actively, but, as they say, you can't cover new thinking any longer with a sieve.

[Yefimov] Although they are trying to cover it, perhaps what is happening now in France is fairly characteristic. In France it turns out that there is a secretary in charge of human rights issues, Claude Malhuret. For many months he remained silent when, it seems, he ought not to have been. For example, when the police in dispersing the students demonstrating against the government's policy on higher education, issues killed one of students, he was silent. When the police chained 101 Mali citizens to their aircraft seats with handcuffs and sent them out of France, he was silent. When the Renault plant dismissed nine trade union activists, he was silent; he did not meet them. Then suddenly the secretary in charge of human rights began to speak, and he began to speak in connection with the Moscow forum. The IZVESTIYA correspondent in Paris, Yuriy Kovalenko, reports that he has accused Marina Vlad, Paul Newman, and Gregory Peck -- famous people -- of playing the role of extras in Moscow. He has accused the Moscow forum of only pursuing propaganda purposes, and he has even said that the Soviet wolf is trying to pass itself off as a granny, in order, of course, to swallow up the West European Little Red Riding Hood. So, as one listens to Claude Malhurst, one cannot fail to come to the conclusion that new political thinking comes with very great difficulty to somebody who until now has been still is the prisoner of anti-Soviet fairy-tales.

What is happening in France, is, I repeat, characteristic of what was said at the forum, how people spoke at the forum, the atmosphere that reigned at the forum. Somehow they do not want to recount this, and they even suppress it when forum participants begin to talk about it, and, once again, here's a French example. The famous British writer, playwright, and actor, Peter Ustinov, was invited to appear on the Antenne-2 television channel -- this is a nationwide French channel. Hardly had he managed to begin to talk about the Moscow forum when the anchorwoman cut him short and closed this subject. They do not want the truth about the forum and the details of the forum to reach the very broad masses of the population of the West. That's how openness [glasnost] looks in France as applied to the forum, or anti-openness if you want, but the same could be said about France, [as heard] about Britain, West Germany, and a number of other countries.

[Kuznetsov] It must be said that, in my opinion, what is being given a hostile reception first and foremost is the successful side of the forum, namely those specific businesslike proposals which were put forward in the course of discussions, although they were absolutely unofficial. Well, what I have in mind is, let's say, problems of nuclear disarmament. After all, scientists, let's say, U.S. and Soviet ones, reported on their research in the field of nuclear arms reduction, and although both used different procedures, both have come to the conclusion that silo-based ICBM's and ICBM's on submarine vessels must be looked at as one set. This is the conclusion of both Soviet and U.S. scientists, and it is very important for the negotiations in progress between the Soviet Union and the United States in Geneva. That is to say that basically, in this very free discussion, with no one thrusting their points of view on anybody, and each being free to speak his mind, people came to a conclusion which is objectively a backing for the Soviet Union's stance on disarmament issues.

[Yefimov] Here's a typical opinion I found in West German newspapers. What has until now been proposed by adherents of the policy of detente in the West and contradicted by the hawks has now become evident: The Soviet advance in the field of disarmament serves the cause of real restructuring in the USSR, including the expansion of democracy.

[Kuznetsov] The chairman of the SPD group in the Bundestag, Vogel, delivered a speech in which he pointed out that the current course of the Soviet Union's development meets the interests of the West as a whole, as well as that of West Europe, including the FRG's interests. That is to say, this, as you remember, has something in common with the point made by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, who said that changes in the Soviet Union are to everybody's advantage. The leader of the SPD group spoke out for an expansion of economic, scientific, and cultural cooperation with the Soviet Union. I also would say that what the deputy chairman of the CDU-CSU group Ruhe said is of no small importance: That these parties agree with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev that it is necessary to create confidence by the practice of cooperation, finding out about one another, and resolving common issues. It seems to me that it is of no small interest that, first of all, the West German participants in the forum sent a telegram to Chancellor Kohl while they were still in Moscow requesting that the next forum of a similar nature be held in the FRG, in Bonn. This request can now be heard in Bonn, this time in the parliament. It seems to me that this is evidence of the deep impression which, notwithstanding anti-Soviet propaganda, is being made on a significant number not only of Western Europeans but inhabitants of the West as a whole, including the United States.

[Yefimov] I cannot help quoting another West German newspaper, the KOELNER STADT-ANZEIGER, which, commenting on Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's address to the forum participants, writes the following, and I quote: The Americans have not as yet found out one thing about what their own government and their own president think about the Soviet leader's initiatives.

Apart from the official assurance that statements by the Kremlin leader will be studied carefully, the U.S. Government has not offered anything else for the time being. The more Moscow speaks, this newspaper goes on, the more silent grows the Potomac. This is the silence of a government which, in a sense, has lost its tongue. One cannot fail to notice that there are now symptoms of paralysis to be observed in Reagan and his team. At any rate, it was a fairly strong commentary.

[Sobolev] Here is another interesting fact that shows what different people found at the forum. There among its participants was the famous U.S. actor Kristofferson, an anti-war movement activist, and, at the same time, the performer of one of the main roles in the TV film "Amerika," which has been showing all this week, 2 hours daily -- a film which has acquired a regrettable reputation in many countries, including ours as well. The idea of a Soviet invasion of the United States already had been enacted on screen by U.S. cinematographers, but this time it was done with a greater scope. The main thing is that they decided to show the Americans in detail what would be Soviet reality transferred to U.S. soil. The screenwriters took some pictures of Soviet everyday life that previously had been reported very persistently to the Americans -- let's say queues and shortages of given foodstuffs -- and to them they added other features, so to speak, already on the level of creative fiction: cruelty, greed, unscrupulousness, and other things. The film, if one is to judge by the first reviews, has no artistic worth, which is what was to be expected, because you can't create this worth on the basis of spite and blind hatred.

The point is not in the worth and not even, in a broad sense, in the film. The point is the internal political situation that has engendered the idea of this film. I have before me a document of the Heritage Foundation organization. This is an ideological center of neoconservatism, the new conservatism from which have come the basic policy ideas of the present U.S. Government and some of its figures. The Heritage Foundation has up to the present fed ideas and proposals to the White House, criticizing it if these ideas and proposals are not fully implemented.

[Kuznetsov] It must be said that Reagan himself admits that he borrows two-thirds of his initiatives in the sphere of domestic and foreign policy from the recommendations of the Heritage Foundation.

[Sobolev] Yes. Now this new document sets the President 20 tasks - from developing the Star Wars program to breaking off diplomatic relations with countries that are out of favor. In other words, the new conservatism goes hand in hand with the new globalism. Though the word 'new' is used, it is a matter in both cases of an irrepressible hankering after the old. You could say that it's an ideal example of the old thinking, one of the fruits of which is this television film "Amerika."

[Yefimov] To return to the subject of the forum: In his speech in the Great Hall of the Kremlin, U.S. Professor Lown -- a well-known doctor and cochairman of the worldwide movement of physicians opposing nuclear war and advocating its prevention -- made this significant statement: We in America need publicity about the Soviet Union. We in America must know what is happening in the Soviet Union. That is what Professor Lown thinks. The President of the United States thinks differently about what America needs. Just a few days ago, he sent Congress a report on U.S. strategy in the sphere of national security. I'll quote one excerpt from that report, which, in my view, is a key passage: We are faced, writes the U.S. President, with a serious task in the sphere of national security and in the political sphere.

That task is to wage ideological war against the Soviet Union. War: that is the word used by the President of the United States. Not ideological struggle, not confrontation of views, not comparison of ways of life and so on, but ideological war.

[Kuznetsov] Yes, well, he dots his 'i's, so to speak.

[Yefimov] He doesn't even mean ideological war, but psychological war.

[Sobolev] Really, in effect, preparations for a military conflict.

[Yefimov] In such a psychological war, all means are permissible: lies, deception, sabotage. It looks as if what they're after, above all, in that war is to get the Americans to think of the Soviet man as their enemy. The film "Amerika," commissioned by the rightwingers, creates just that image, that of the enemy. This film isn't just anti-Soviet. This film is against the whole world community, because in it America is occupied not only by Soviet troops, but also by United Nations troops. They have the Russian soldiers dressed in gleaming black uniforms, their heads sealed in dark, blank helmets. The audience isn't even shown their faces. They're not human beings but some sort of faceless machine programmed to obey orders unquestionably. That is the image of things Soviet that is being created for Americans.

Vitaliy Sergeyevich, you mentioned Kris Kristofferson. The IZVESTIYA correspondent Boris Ivanov had an extensive interview with this Kris Kristofferson. You know, when he brought his tape recorder and we listened to the replies given by this actor, who's well-known and popular in America; we could only marvel. Kris Kristofferson is asked the question -- he'd played in this film that was supposed to show an image of what Soviet people are like -- he was asked what book by a Soviet writer he had read. His answer: Silence. Could he name just one Soviet composer? Silence. Boris Ivanov goes on to ask, do you seriously think that "Amerika" will help to improve mutual understanding between the USSR and the United States that you profess to support? Silence. Do you think, the correspondent continues, that the film portrays Soviet

people truthfully? Silence. In your opinion, can American people derive from this film objective information about the Soviet Union? Silence. Imagine: Even the actor himself knows nothing about us and after his film scores of millions of people will not only know nothing, but on the contrary, they will get distorted idea -- an idea of the image of the enemy.

[Kuzmetsov] Yes, it's very dangerous. Unfortunately, this ideological war evidently serves as a backdrop for "hot war" preparations. You know, against the background of this television film, quite a few things. I think, may pale; and yet: I read recently in the magazine U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT a cozy and unrestrained discussion of the fact that the United States is now about to deploy [razvernut] elements of the Strategic Defense Initiative. They expatiate quite calmly on the subject of tens of thousands of interceptor missiles possibly being put into orbit on 2,000 combat stations. Think for a moment: If one of those missiles were simply to hit an thermal electric power station and be activated: What would happen then?

[Sobolev] Apropos of US NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, I like to glance occasionally at one issue that describes how leaders, futurologists, and simply scientists and well-known people in the West imagine the remote future. Military men in the West consider that people won't have strong enough nerves to take part in a future war -- robots will do the fighting instead.

Thus they're beginning to paint, for Americans, a rather seductive picture of military conflict in the future. An American sits at home in his easy chair, protected by an antimissile umbrella in space, while robots in vehicles fitted with the Stealth system making them invisible to radar break through the enemy's defense system. If Americans are to respond to this picture with approval, it's also necessary, of course, to convince them that the enemy deserves such treatment. Not so long ago, the U.S. head of state was assuring his fellow countrymen that it was time to consign the evil empire to the scrap-heap of history. Now, U.S. politicians don't use such words; on the other hand, the media, the cinema and television -- the television film "Amerika" is an example -- are instilling what is, in effect, the same cannibalistic idea of the evil empire and where it is destined to be consigned.

In that sense, it is very important to draw attention to those facts showing that the anti-Sovietists are meeting with resistance. One can speak of the U.S. public protests against the showing of the television film "Amerika." Other American television companies have scheduled relays of Soviet television programs to be broadcast while the film "Amerika" is being shown, so that Americans can see that our country's image is not at all as the new conservatives would like to portray it. I'd like to remind you again of the appearance of one of America's main heroes at the forum in Moscow. I'd say that was also a counterblast on behalf of the new thinking.

There's another fact I'd like to mention. Last week was proclaimed the week of struggle to abolish foreign military bases in the Indian Ocean.

[Yefimov] The Indian Ocean is a rich ocean, a rich region: forty-four states, a quarter of the world's population; vital sea routes linking various continents, including sea routes of the greatest importance to our country. They link the east and west of our country. That's what this region represents. It long ago ought to have become a zone of peace and good-neighboringness. Yes, it should have become that, but it hasn't. As long ago as 1971, the UN General Assembly adopted a declaration proclaiming the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. The declaration, however, has so far remained just that. The opposite has happened: The United States now has 30 military

bases and military strongholds in the region. A special central command has been set up: CENTCOM. Nineteen countries, whether they like it or not -- they haven't been asked -- find themselves in the zone of operation of that central command. There are already 600 military aircraft here; six divisions of ground forces; and a large U.S. fleet. The position of the United States regarding this region has been expressed rather eloquently by Weinberger: It is a region where for us the terms parity or equality are unacceptable.

[Kuznetsov] That's why they severed the Soviet-U.S. talks on restricting naval activity in the Indian Ocean.

[Yefimov] Here they want to dictate their will; both to the 19 countries that have fallen under the shadow of the CENTCOM and to all the rest. The sharp end of U.S. actions in the Indian Ocean is, however, aimed against the Soviet Union. Here, I repeat, are our sea routes; from here, they can attack the southern regions of our country. What does our stance consist of? First, the Soviet Union is against any further exacerbation of the situation in the Indian Ocean. During Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit to India, both the Soviet and the Indian sides supported the decision of the UN General Assembly to convene an international conference on the Indian Ocean not later than 1988. The Soviet Union is willing to hold talks on a substantial reduction in the numerical strength of naval forces in the Indian Ocean. The Soviet Union is willing to hold talks with the United States and all the other interested Asian countries on measures of trust in the military sphere on the continent and on the Indian Ocean and the Pacific.

Finally, the Soviet Union advocates talks among all states using Indian Ocean waters to draw up guarantees of the safety of the sea routes, including the Persian Gulf, Hormuz, and the Malacca Straits. As you see, it's a precise, clear and peace-loving position. Moreover, I cannot help recalling the speech of the Indian metropolitan (Mav1) Mar Gregorius in the Great Palace of the Kremlin during the forum. He said: We ultimately must destroy all weapons and achieve democratic institutions that will see to it that peace, peace accords, and security for all exist. International conventions and treaties are moral and legitimately just.

The metropolitan put it very well, and our initiatives precisely pursue this aim using his words: security for all. Therein lies the meaning of the Soviet proposals on the Indian Ocean.

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## RELATED ISSUES

### GORBACHEV GREETS PUBLISHERS OF PEACE USSR-FRG ANTHOLOGY

PM241506 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 Feb 87 p 1

[Message from M. Gorbachev to editorial collegium of the book "Europe on the Threshold of the Third Millenium"; first three paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] LITERATURNAYA GAZETA has already written about the publication of the book "Europe on the Threshold of the Third Millenium. First Issue. The Book of Peace" ["Yevropa na Poroge III Tysyacheletiya. Vypusk Pervyy. Kniga Mira"], and its wide success.

Both Soviet and West German writers, scientists, and public figures are represented in the book. The book was issued on the initiative of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation and the Rhine-Westphalia Foreign Society in Dortmund (FRG), in Russian and German simultaneously.

The joint editorial collegium sent the first issue of the book to M.S. Gorbachev, and during the Moscow forum "For a Nuclear-Free World, for the Survival of Humanity," it received the letter we publish today.

[Gorbachev letter] To the joint editorial collegium of the book "Europe on the Threshold of the Third Millenium."

Esteemed gentlemen, Comrades!

I have studied the remarkable book "Europe on the Threshold of the Third Millenium," which you presented to me.

It is noteworthy that writers, scientists, politicians, and public figures from two countries, the USSR and the FRG, unanimously and with conviction defend the most important, fundamental, sacred values of mankind today: peace, nature, and man.

A frank and open dialogue takes place in the book on these questions, and a dispute on the most fruitful ways of tackling the questions. That is only natural. After all, the book was created by representatives of the intelligentsia of two countries with different social systems, and moreover, countries that fought against each other in the most merciless and destructive of all wars.

I am not in favor of ignoring differences and contradictions and smoothing over sharp corners. I am in favor of correctly understanding the hierarchy of values, the priorities of tasks, and of thinking above all about what unites individuals, peoples belonging to the same human race in their desire for a nuclear-free and nonviolent peace on earth. That is the value of your joint activity.

I wish you successes in continuing work on new issues of the book with such a stirring and expressive title!

M. Gorbachev

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## RELATED ISSUES

### FRG PAPER SAYS NATO CAN NO LONGER AVOID HARD QUESTIONS

Frankfurt FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German 14 Feb 87 p 12

[Article by Jan Reifenberg: "On the Substance of the Alliance"]

[Text] The political and military leadership of NATO is dealing worriedly with the strategic debate which has revived on both sides of the Atlantic and, in the last analysis, concerns the future of U.S. involvement in Europe. Since NATO's basic resolution of Halifax, and especially after Reykjavik, to study possibilities of conventional arms limitation "between the Atlantic and the Ural," diplomats and the military have become aware that it concerns the substance of the alliance. Two sets of questions must be answered: What role can Europe play in view of the continued efforts of both world powers to limit nuclear armament? Should it come to a reduction in conventional troops, how can Western Europe maintain its security in view of a force ratio numerically still favoring the Warsaw Pact? It is becoming clear that in most West European capitals, not enough thought has been given to these questions, to the consequences of U.S. - Soviet efforts, and to a possible change in U.S. policy.

The "high level group" on conventional arms reduction established by NATO has been working for almost 9 months to develop a "mandate," acceptable to all alliance partners, for those negotiations to be offered to the Warsaw Pact. France has always warned and admonished, while Foreign Minister Genscher in particular sees in the proposal a chance for initiating a "new phase of the policy of detente." The wrangling about the forum, in which an offer is to be made to the East within the framework of the CSCE follow-up conference in Vienna, has now come to an end: France has the satisfaction that the upcoming talks will remain under the "roof" of the 35 CSCE participating countries. On 17 February, in the French embassy in Vienna, the 23 ambassadors of the NATO member states and Warsaw Pact will establish a first contact. It is not at all a matter of formulations ready for a mandate, but rather the discussion of a catalogue of questions--of the kind that were already discussed in 1972 in Helsinki during the first preliminary talks of ambassadors, i.e., how one could talk at all usefully about "pan-European security."

It will probably soon become clear that those definitions, with which the MBFR negotiations in Vienna wrestled in vain for 14 years, are but child's play compared to the issues to be dealt with now. It will probably also become even

clearer that the "confidence-building measures" agreed upon at the first round of the Stockholm CDE Conference are only the first tentative attempts at creating greater stability. Only if the first contact proceeds half-way positively can it be established whether, and above all, when it will come to a mandate for a future European disarmament conference. Paris certainly would not be inconsolable if this turned out to be impossible: France knows that a weakening of the West European "glacis" would be particularly dangerous if the type and extent of the United States' nuclear umbrella over Europe were to change.

Despite all consultations with Washington, the European NATO partners are ultimately only observers of developments between the two superpowers. There is concern in Brussels over the consequences which a U.S. decision in favor of the "broad interpretation" of the ABM treaty would have--it is the condition for stationing of SDI elements in the early 1990's. NATO surmises that President Reagan has no misgivings about interpreting the ABM treaty broadly even now, which would deal a heavy blow to the prospects of an arms limitation agreement with Moscow. NATO Secretary General Lord Carrington, as well as Federal Chancellor Kohl and British Prime Minister Thatcher, have stated their respective concerns in Washington. There is doubt in Brussels that the demand for new negotiations of the ABM treaty could actually become a trump card in the Geneva negotiations. For this reason, the alliance backs retaining the "restrictive" interpretation of the ABM treaty, all the more so since at present, it is the only agreement between the two superpowers binding under international law (despite the suspicion that the Soviet Union may have violated its provisions).

NATO continues to be concerned about the consequences which the "zero solution" for intermediate-range missiles--discussed in Reykjavik--would have for European security. Brussels is aware that, of the three negotiating areas in Geneva, in this sector an agreement ready for signing is closest. Since NATO formerly agreed to the "zero solution," the allies could not oppose it. But at the same time they know that one would then have to tackle immediately the question of negotiations on Soviet short-range weapons in East Europe (SRINF). In case the Soviet Union would not agree to arms reductions, one can easily imagine the debate that would break out, particularly in the FRG, over catch-up armament in this sector. Furthermore, there is the revived question whether the United States might withdraw some of its troops stationed in West Europe in order to ease its defense budget. It is already being heard in a Congress now controlled by the Democrats that one could simply demobilize and dissolve those troop units. This would do away with the Europeans' argument that stationing U.S. troops in the United States costs more than maintaining the troop presence in Europe.

Basically, the West can hardly reduce conventional arms without endangering its own security. Because of a lack of sufficient modern, non-nuclear precision weapons, deterrence by the U.S. nuclear force will remain for a long time the most effective protection for Europe. If the double function tied to intermediate-range weapons--U.S. "coupling" to Europe, and the threat to Soviet territory--were to be eliminated, only the French and British national systems would remain. It will no longer be possible to evade strategic truths with formulas which are effective with the public, but questionable as to security policy.